

A

VINDICATION

Of MR. WESLEY's

CALM ADDRESS, &c.

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VINDICATION

OF THE

Rev. MR. WESLEY's

"CALM ADDRESS /

TO OUR

AMERICAN COLONIES:"

In some LETTERS

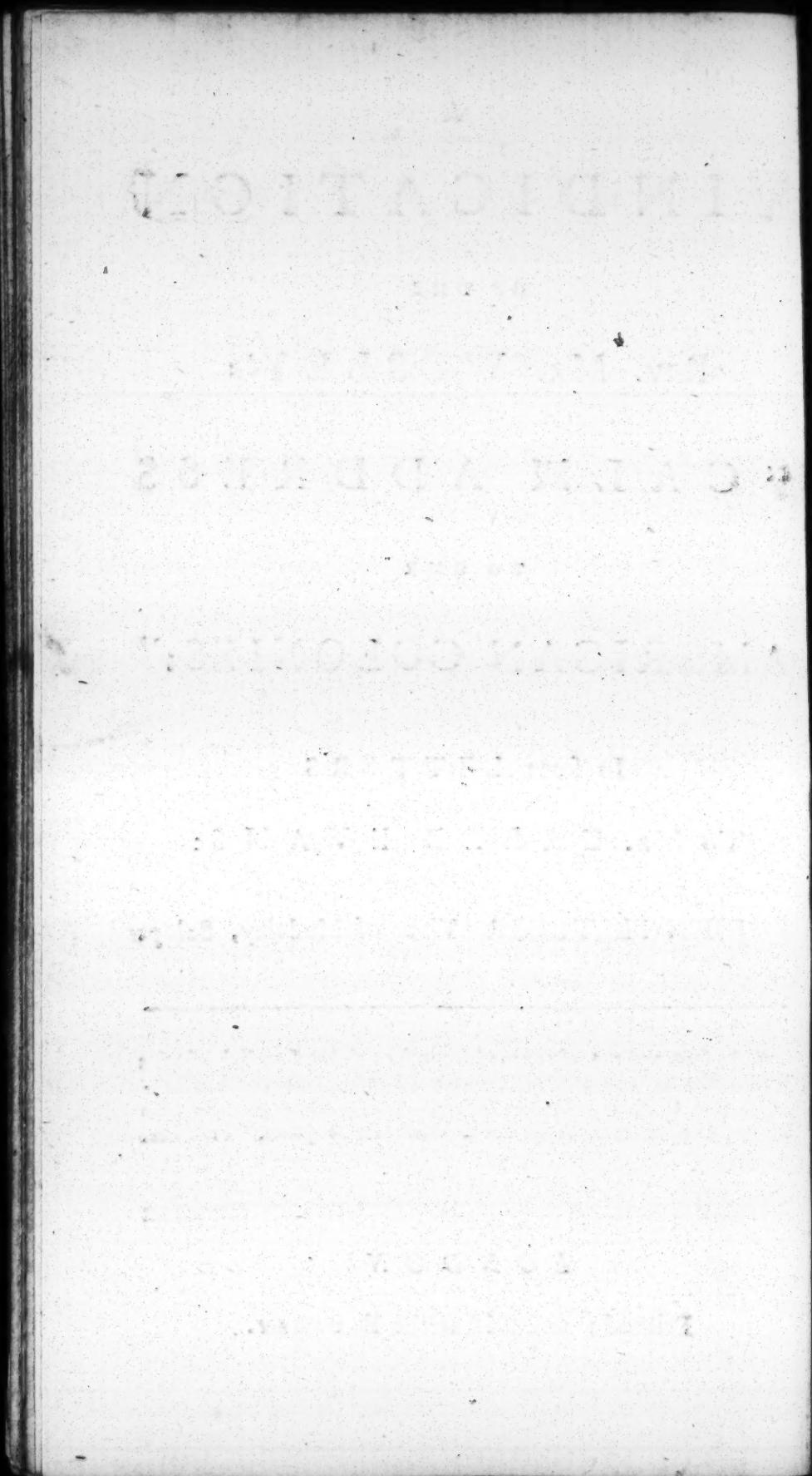
To MR. CALEB EVANS:

By JOHN FLETCHER, Vicar of Madeley, Salop.

" As free, and not using your liberty for a cloke of maliciousness ;
but, as the servants of God, honour all men, love the brotherhood,
fear God, honour the King.—While they promise you
liberty, they themselves are the servants of corruption." *St. Peter.*

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P R E F A C E.

IT will probably seem strange, that Clergymen should meddle with a controversy, which has hitherto been considered as altogether political. But the Reader's surprise, in this respect, will probably cease, if he gives himself the trouble to read these Letters. He will then see, that the American controversy is closely connected with Christianity in general, and with Protestantism in particular; and that, of consequence, it is of a *religious*, as well as of a civil nature.

Is it not granted on all sides, that the gospel leads to the practice of strict morality? Is it not an important branch of such morality "to honour and obey the king;"—to extend that honour and obedience (in a scriptural and constitutional manner) to "all that are put in authority under him,—to submit ourselves to all our governors;—to order ourselves lowly and reverently to all our betters;—to hurt no body by word or deed;—and to be true and just in all our dealings;" giving every one his due, "tribute to whom tribute is due, and custom to whom custom?" Do we not teach this doctrine to our Children, when we instruct them in the first principles of Christianity? If divinity, therefore, can cast light upon the question, which divides Great Britain and her colonies; is it impertinent in divines to hold out the light of their science, and peaceably to use what the Apostle calls "the word of the spirit;" that the material sword, unjustly drawn, by those who are in the wrong, may be sheathed; and that a speedy end may be put to the effusion of Christian blood?

Another reason influences the Author to write upon the question which is now so warmly agitated in England,—so dreadfully debated in America. Many of the colonists are as pious as they are brave; and whilst their undaunted fortitude makes them scorn to bow under an hostile arm, which shoots the deadly lightning of war; their humble piety may dispose them (or some of them) to regard a friendly hand, which holds out an olive branch, a bible, and the articles of religion drawn by their favourite Reformer. Had more care been taken to inform their judgment, and to work upon their consciences, by addressing them, not only as subjects, but as free men, brethren, and protestants, it is probable that numbers of them, would never have so strongly embraced the unscriptural principles, which now influence their conduct.

Should it be said, that it is too late now, to use spiritual weapons with the colonists: I reply, that this objection bears too hard upon their candour: it can never be too late to hold out plain scripture, and solid arguments, to judicious Protestants. It is only to Papists strongly prejudiced, or to those who relapse into Popish obstinacy, that the light of God's word, and of sound reason, can come too late. Besides, the mistakes which have armed the provincials against Great Britain, begin to work in the breasts of many good men among us; witness the principles of *Americanus*: now, therefore, is the time to keep these well-meaning men from going to the same extremes, to which the colonists are gone: now is the time to prevent others, whose judgment is yet cool and sober, from drinking in errors, by which such numbers are intoxicated.

C O N T E N T S.

L E T T E R I.

The Doctrine of Taxation, maintained by the Author of the Calm Address, is rational, scriptural, and constitutional.

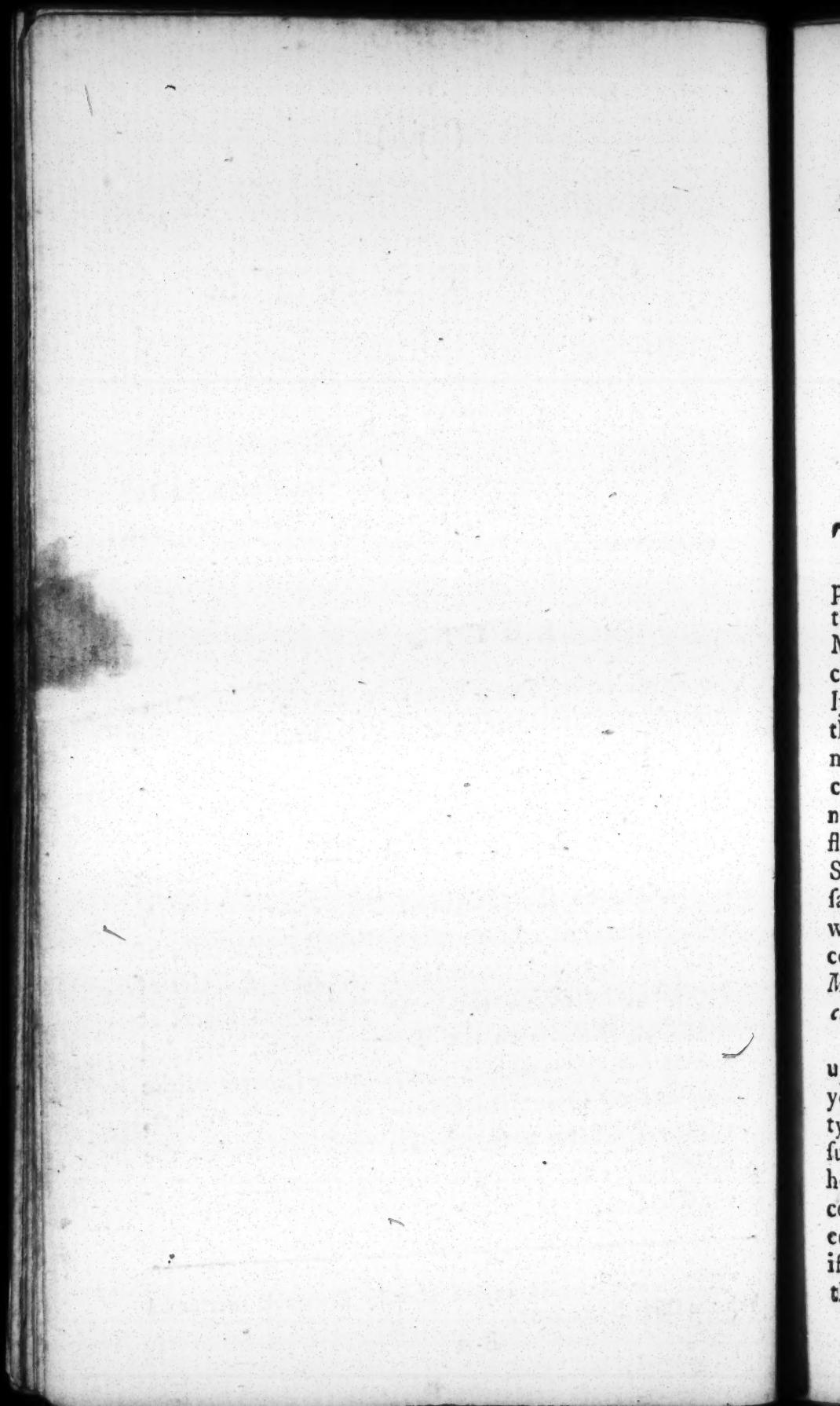
L E T T E R II.

The Doctrine of Americanus is highly unconstitutional, and draws after it a long Train of absurd Consequences.

L E T T E R III.

Observations on the Origin of Power,—on the high republican Spirit *—on the political Enthusiasm of many of the first Protestants—on the Articles of Religion, by which the later Reformers struck at that Enthusiasm—on the Tyranny which attended it—on Slavery—and on the peculiar Liberty of the Subjects of Great Britain;—the Author's Wishes, with respect to a speedy Reconciliation with the Colonists:—the happy consequences of such a Reconciliation.

* This was the grand engine whereby Cromwell overturned both the Church and State.



F I R S T L E T T E R.

Rev. Sir,

THANKFUL for the religious and civil liberty which I enjoy as a subject of Great Britain ;—persuaded, that many warm, well meaning men mistake an unreasonable opposition to the King, and the Minister, for true patriotism ;—sensible of the sad consequences of national misunderstandings ;—ardently wishing, that all things may be so ordered and settled upon the best and surest foundations (which, if I mistake not, are reason, scripture, and our excellent constitution) that peace and harmony may for all generations be established between Great Britain and her flourishing Colonies ;—and desirous to inspire you, Sir, and my dissatisfied, dissenting brethren, with the same loyal sentiments, I take the pen to expostulate with you about the system of politics, which you recommend to the Public in your “*Letter to the Rev. Mr. Wesley, occasioned by his Calm Address to the American Colonies.*”

It is at this time peculiarly needful to throw light upon the question debated between Mr. Wesley and you ; for if you are in the right, the sovereign is a tyrant, taxing the Colonists is *robbery*, and enforcing such taxation by the sword is *murder*. We cannot hold up the hands of our soldiers by prayer, without committing sin : nor can they fight with Christian courage, which is inseparable from a good conscience, if they suspect that they are sent to rob good men of their properties, liberties, and lives.

Mr. Wesley asserts, "That the supreme power in England has a legal right of laying any tax upon the American Colonies, for any end beneficial to the whole empire,—with or WITHOUT their consent."—And you reply, "If the Americans are indeed subject to such a power as this, their condition differs not from that of the most abject slaves in the universe."

Sir, I venture to assert, that you are mistaken, and that Mr. Wesley's proposition is *rational, scriptural, and constitutional*. And, promising you to shew in another letter the absurdity of your proposition, I enter upon the proof of my assertion, by an appeal to reason, scripture, and your own letter. In following this method, I shall address you as a man, a divine, and a controvertist. First, as a man:

Does not your mistake spring from your inattention to the nature of civil government? You represent the power, which the king and parliament claim of disposing of some of the money of the Colonists without their consent, as an encroachment upon British liberty;—as an unjust, tyrannical pretension;—nay, as a species of "robbery." But, did you never consider, Sir, that, in the nature of things, our sovereign [I mean by this word, the king and his parliament, first jointly making laws not contrary to the laws of God, whose supreme dominion must always be submitted to by all created law-givers; and secondly executing the laws which they have made, by imparting to magistrates, and other officers of justice, a sufficient power to put them in force;—did you never consider, I say, that, our sovereign] whether we have a vote for parliamentmen or not, has both a *right*, and a *power* to dispose not only of our money, but also of our liberty and life; so far as that disposal answers ends agreeable to the law of God, beneficial to the peace of society, and conducive to the general good? if this political doctrine is explained, you will, I am persuaded, assent to it, as an indubitable truth.

Could the sovereign rule and protect us, if he had not this right and this power? I injure your

property, or, what is worse, your reputation. You sue me for damages : but, how can the sovereign act the part of protector of your property and good name, if he cannot command my property, and take from me by force what I unjustly detain from you, and what may make you satisfaction for the injury done to your character ? and suppose you had wronged me, how could the sovereign protect me, if he could not dispose of your property without your consent ?

This is exactly the case with respect to *Liberty*. If you stop me on the road, and unjustly deprive me of the liberty of going about my business ; can the sovereign protect me, unless he has a right of depriving you of your lawless liberty, that I may quietly enjoy my lawful liberty ? and does not equity demand, that if I am the petty tyrant, who pretend to the liberty of tar-feathering you, the sovereign should have the same power of protecting you, by binding me to my good behaviour, or by ordering me to the stocks or to jail ?

This power extends to *life*, as well as liberty. I demand your money or your life. How can the sovereign secure you more effectually than by taking away my life, for having attempted to take yours ? By the rule of reciprocity, if you endeavour to take away my life, I cannot be protected ; and if you murder me, my blood cannot be properly avenged ; unless the sovereign has power to put you to death. Hence it is, that prosecutions for capital offences are carried on in the name of the king, who is the head of the legislative power, and who, as he infests [in his capacity of law-giver and protector of his subjects] upon the infliction of capital punishments, has also the royal prerogative of pardoning criminals who are condemned to die.

Come we now to taxes. If the sovereign rules and protects his subjects ; and if it is his office to avert the dangers which threaten them, and to see that justice be done to the oppressed ; he has his noble, I had almost said, his *divine*, business : and he has a right to live by his business : — yea, to live

live in a manner which may answer to the importance and dignity of his business. Hence it follows, that he is not only as much entitled to a royal sustenance from his subjects, as a schoolmaster is entitled to a schoolmaster's maintenance from his scholars; or a minister to a pastoral supply from his flock; but that his right is so much the more conspicuous, as his rank is higher than theirs. Now, this royal sustenance chiefly arises from custom, and taxes. Hence it is evident, that to deny proper taxes to the sovereign who protects and defends us, is, at least, as gross an act of injustice, as to reap the benefit of a lawyer's study, a physician's attendance, a nurse's care, and a master's instructions; and then to cheat them of the emolument which such study, attendance, care, and instructions reasonably entitle them to. This is not all:

In a great empire, where the sovereign uses numerous officers to keep the peace and administer justice, there is absolute need of a great revenue: for the maintenance of those officers and the collecting of this revenue, is the employment of many more. If the state is in danger from external or internal foes; a sufficient force, in constant readiness, is absolutely necessary to suppress seditions, quell rebellions, obtain restitutions, prevent invasions, and hinder encroachments. Hence, the need of a navy, an army, a militia. Hence, the need of sea-ports, docks, fortifications, garrisons, convoys, fleets of observation, ministers at foreign courts, arms, artillery, ammunition, magazines, and warlike stores without end;—hence, in short, prodigious expences. Now, as all these expences are incurred for the protection, and dignity of the whole empire, do not reason and conscience dictate:—(1.) That all those who share in the protection and dignity of the empire, should contribute in due proportion towards defraying the national expence:—(2.) That, of consequence the supreme power has an indubitable right of laying moderate taxes upon the subjects, for any end beneficial to the whole empire: —(3.) That subjects have absolutely no right to complain of taxation, unless

unless they are taxed exorbitantly, and without due proportion :—(4.) That if Colonies of subjects, settled by a grant from the sovereign within the limits of the empire, have been spared in their state of infancy, either to encourage their growth, or because the revenue which might have arisen from taxing them at first, would hardly have defrayed the expence of raising taxes; it by no means follows, that, when such Colonies have gathered strength, and are as well able to bear a share in the national burden as the mother country, they should still be excused :—And lastly, that to say, “you shall not tax me without my consent,” is as improper a speech from a subject to his sovereign, as to say, “you shall not protect the empire without my consent: if I steal, you shall not send me to jail without my consent: if I raise a rebellion, you shall not hang me unless I give you leave: you shall not dispose of my property without my permission, although (by the bye) I will dispose of the property of my fellow-subjects, not only without *their* permission, but also in full opposition to *your* authority:”—an absurd, unjust disposition this, which too many of the Bostonian patriots evidenced, when they impudently disposed of the cargo of our ships, forcibly threw the goods of our merchants into the sea, to the amount of many thousand pounds, and set all America in a flame, as soon as the sovereign insisted that the port of Boston should be shut up, till the perpetrators of this daring act were delivered to justice, or, at least, till satisfaction was made to his oppressed subjects, whose ships have been boarded in a piratical manner, and whose property has been feloniously destroyed, when they quietly traded under the sanction of English laws, and the protection of the British flag; trusting to the faith of Christians; depending on protestant usage in the harbour of a protestant-city; expecting brotherly love, or at least common honesty, from the sons of pious Englishmen; little thinking — but enough of this black scene:

may

may it be palliated by a speedy restitution, and a lasting repentance!

I hope, Sir, that the preceding remarks, which naturally flow from the principles of reason and humanity, recommend themselves to your conscience; and having thus addressed you as a rational creature, I take the liberty to address you next as a *Christian*, —yea, a *preacher* of the Gospel of Christ. As such, you will not wonder at my producing a passage or two from the venerable book, which ought to be the rule of our conduct, sermons, and publications. *Let every soul be subject to the higher powers.* For there is no power but of God: the powers that are, are ordained of God. *Whosoever therefore [in lawful things] resisteth the power [which providence calls him to obey] resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves condemnation, &c.* Wherefore ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. *For, for this cause PAY you TRIBUTE [i. e. taxes] also, &c. RENDER therefore to all their DUES: tribute to whom tribute is DUE, custom to whom custom.* Rom. xiii. 1, &c.

I need not remind you, Rev. Sir, that our Lord himself scrupulously followed this doctrine; *setting us an example that we should follow his steps.* For, although no Jew had a representative in the Roman senate, although the emperor of Rome had not half the right of taxing the Jews, which our protestant king has of taxing the Colonists, who are his natural subjects; although none of that emperor's predecessors had made the Jews a grant of their country; —although, Christ could have insisted on being exempted, as the Son of God, and the King of kings; —yea, although he could have pleaded absolute indigence as the Son of Man; yet, rather than set a pattern, which Christians might have abused in after-ages, he unveiled his godhead: his omniscience searched the depth of the sea: his omnipotence inverted the course of nature: he called the animal creation to his assistance, he wrought a miracle to pay his tax: and to whom? to a foreign power—

to an heathen prince, to a bloody tyrant;—to Tiberius, who was the third of the Cæsars.

Nor was our Lord's doctrine less loyal than his practice. His words are as strong as those of St. Paul. *The Herodians said to him, Master, we know that thou teachest the way of God in truth, &c. Tell us therefore, what thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give tribute to Cesar, or not?* But Jesus perceived their wickedness and said, *Why tempt ye me, ye hypocrites? shew me the tribute-money.* And they brought to him a penny. And he said to them, *Whose is this image and superscription?* they say to him, *Cesar's.* Then saith he unto them, *Render therefore unto Cesar, the things which are Cesar's.* Mat. xxii. 16, &c.

Permit me, Sir, to clothe this Christian doctrine in language adapted to our controversy. The Colonists ask you, Shall we pay to the King and Parliament of Great Britain, taxes which they have laid upon us without our consent? You answer, Shew me some of your lawful money newly coined, that I may see who rules and protects you now. They bring to you a guinea, with a royal head on one side, and the British arms on the other. You say to them, whose is this image and superscription? They reply, King George's; and they read this motto, *George III. by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, &c.* Now, Rev. Sir, unless you will coin new money, together with a new gospel, as you regard the word and authority of Jesus Christ, you are bound to answer the Colonists as he answered the Herodians: and, in this case, instead of imposing upon them the Antinomian paradoxes of your letter, and throwing oil upon the flame of revolt, you will say, Render therefore to George III. as head of the legislative, protective power of Great Britain, *the things which are HIS;* that is, Pay to him, by his officers, the reasonable taxes which are laid upon you; for in so doing, you only give him HIS DUE. You owe him obedience and taxes, as your supreme Governor and Protector. Hence it appears, that Mr. Wesley only unfolds our Lord's doctrine, when he says, “The reception of any law draws after it, by a chain

chain which cannot be broken, the necessity of admitting taxation." The primary right of taxation is inseparable from the supreme power, and, if our respective parishes at home, and our Colonies abroad, have a right to cess themselves, with respect to their private expences; it is only a delegated, subordinate right, which by no means exempts them from the taxes laid upon them to defray the general expence of the government. And therefore, to pretend that parish-rates, and Colony-rates, ought to supersede taxation by the sovereign in a body political, is as absurd as to affirm, that the pulses in the human body ought to supersede the vital motion, or capital beating of the heart.

Having expostulated with you, as with a conscientious man, and a minister of the gospel, permit me, Sir, to address you, thirdly, as a *consistent writer*. You give us to understand, that the act of parliament, by which the Colonists are taxed, is an unconstitutional act; because the Colonists, as inheriting the privileges of Britons, cannot be constitutionally taxed by a parliament, where they are not allowed to send representatives. But do you not in your very letter to Mr. W. overthrow this grand plea? Do you not grant the very truth, on which he rests his doctrine of the constitutional reasonableness of the taxation you represent as tyrannical? Undoubtedly you do: for, considering that many large towns, as Birmingham, &c. send no representative to parliament, when the hill called Old Sarum, sends two; and that myriads of men, who have their fortune in ready money, in goods, in trade, or in the stocks, have no right to vote for parliament-men, because they have no free-hold; when a poor man, who has a mortgaged free-hold on which he starves, has a right to chuse his representative:—considering this, I say, you tell Mr. W. "In England—the people are by no means equally represented."

We thank you, Sir, for this concession, which (by the bye) you could not help making. You grant then, that the *constitution allows of unequal representation*; since

since it allows, that some towns, and some men, shall send representatives to parliament, when other towns and other men are not permitted to send any. Now, Sir, in granting this, you indirectly grant, that Boston may be constitutionally taxed without a peculiar representative, as well as Birmingham; and that the rich merchants of Boston may be as legally taxed as the rich merchants of Birmingham, who are not entitled to a vote. Now, Sir, if the *Constitution* allows of unequal representation; and if the taxation of myriads of men, who send no representatives to the house of commons, is constitutional; I ask in the name of consistency, why do you represent such taxation as *unconstitutional* with respect to the Colonists?

You reply: “*This is an acknowledged defect of the constitution.*”—So, Sir, your zeal for the constitution throws off its mask at last! and you avowedly impeach the constitution! Might you not have said at once, The parliament may indeed constitutionally tax the Colonists; for it taxes millions of Britons who have no vote for parliament-men: but the constitution is *defective*; and we patriots, we friends of the constitution, will avowedly find fault with the constitution, till we can find an opportunity of casting it into a new mould? And what this mould is, which, I fear, antinomian patriots are getting ready as fast as they can, and into which they hope to cast the inflamed minds of the populace, you Sir, help us to guess, where you say, “*It is glaringly evident,*” (*to such good friends of the constitution as the antinomian patriots are*)—“*It is glaringly evident, that there is not a man in England, who is able to boil a pot, in ever so despicable an hovel, but may, if he pleases, have a voice in the disposal of his property:*” that is, in laying on or taking off taxes, or (which comes to the same) in making and repealing laws. Sir, I would no more encourage a tyrannical monarch, and an oppressive parliament than you: but, supposing our mild King were a tyrant, and his parliament consisted of three hundred and ninety-nine little tyrants, would it not be better, upon the whole, to be ruled by four hundred tyrants than to be at the mercy

of four hundred thousand ? If you calmly weigh this question, I am persuaded, Sir, that your prejudices will subside, secondeing my loyal wishes ; remember, Sir, that if you are right as a patriot, you are wrong, not only as a man, and a Christian, but also as a controvertist ; and that, whether the constitution is defective or not, and whether you can mend it or not, you have granted that *unequal representation* is constitutional, and of consequence that the taxation of myriads of Britons in England, and sons of Britons in America, who send no representatives to parliament, is perfectly agreeable to the constitution.

You strengthen your cause by quoting a French and an English judge. As Mr. Wesley has taken particular notice of these quotations in the last edition of his Address, I shall only transcribe his answers. You write, “ *All the inhabitants, &c.* ” says Montesquieu, speaking of the English constitution, “ ought to have a right of voting at the election of a representative, except such as are so mean as to be deemed to *have no will of their own.* ”—Nay, [answers Mr. W.] ‘ if all have a right to vote that *have a will of their own,* certainly this right belongs to every man, woman, and child in England.’

One quotation more. Judge Blackstone says, “ *In a free state, every man who is supposed to be a free-agent, ought, in some measure, to be his own governour : therefore one branch at least of the legislative power should reside in the whole body of the people.* ”—Mr. Wesley answers, ‘ But who are the *whole body of the people?* According to him, *every free agent.* Then the argument proves too much ; for, are not women free-agents ? Yea, and poor as well as rich men. According to this argument, there is no *free state under the sun.* ’—From these just answers it is evident, that your scheme drives at putting the legislative power in every body’s hands, that is, at crowning king *Mob.*

To conclude : Upon the force of the preceding arguments I ask, First, Is not the demand of proportionable, moderate taxes, which the Sovereign of Great

Great Britain has upon our wealthy fellow-subjects settled in the British dominions on the continent, both rational, scriptural, and constitutional?—*Rational*, as being founded upon a reasonable, self-evident right, flowing from the nature and fitness of things, and acknowledged by every civilized nation under heaven?—*Scriptural*, as being supported by the explicit commands of St. Paul, and Christ himself?—And, *Constitutional*, since the constitution enjoins, that millions of Britons at home, who have no voice at elections, or are represented by men whom they voted against; and that myriads of Britons *abroad*, whether they are freeholders or not, [and some of them are not only freeholders, but members of parliament also] shall be all taxed without their consent?

I flatter myself, Sir, that this appeal to your conscience, your bible, and your *legal* patriotism, will soften your prejudices, and prepare your mind for my next letter. In the mean time I earnestly recommend to your thankful admiration, the excellence of the British government, which equally guards our properties, liberties, and lives, against the tyranny of unjust, arbitrary, or cruel monarchs; and against the ferocity of that Cerberus,—that Hydra—that Briareus—that many-headed monster, a *Mob* of ungrateful, uneasy, restless men, who *despise dominion*;—*speak evil of dignities*;—give to illiberal behaviour, scurrilous insolence, and disloyalty unmasked, the perverted name of *patriotism*;—commit enormities under pretence of redressing grievances; and give the signal of devastation, wherever they erect their standard of lawless liberty. Hoping, Sir, that a panic fear of a virtuous king, a lawful parliament, and a conscientious minister, whose crime is only that of making a constitutional stand against the boisterous overflowings of civil antinomianism;—hoping, I say, that such an absurd fear will never hurry you into groundless discontent and unguarded publications;—intreating you to take no step which may countenance king *Mob*, his merciless

less minister *Rapine*, and his riotous parliament summoned from the “most despicable hovels;”—requesting you to exalt our divine Lawgiver, who sums up his *law of liberty* in these precious statutes, *Render to Cesar the things which are Cesar's, and to God the things which are God's*:—*A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another as I have loved you*;—wishing you, Sir, all scriptural success in the gospel, which says, *Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the PUNISHMENT of evil-doers, and for the PRAISE of them that do well*;—ardently praying, that when the governors, generals and forces, going to America, shall land there, our disobedient fellow-subjects may be found *doing well*, i. e. penitently submitting themselves to their sovereign, that the threatened *punishment* may be turned into deserved *praise*;—and begging you would take in good part the freedom of this well-meant expostulation, I declare that I am as much in love with *liberty* as with *loyalty*; and that I write an heart-felt truth, when I subscribe myself,

Rev. Sir,

Your affectionate Fellow-labourer in the Gospel,
a republican by birth and education, and a
Subject of Great Britain by love of liberty and
free choice.

JOHN FLETCHER.

Madeley,
Nov. 15, 1775.

SECOND LETTER.

Rev. Sir,

I hope I have proved in my first letter, that Mr. Wesley's doctrine of government is rational, scriptural, and constitutional; and that a right of taxing subjects with, or *without* their consent, is an inseparable appendage of supreme government. I shall now attempt to prove, that your doctrine of liberty, and taxation only with our own consent, is absurd and unconstitutional; and that, whilst you try to break the lawful yoke of civil government laid on the Colonists, you doctrinally bind the greatest part of the English with chains of the most abject slavery, and fix a ridiculous charge of robbery on the King and parliament, for taxing some millions of Britons, who are no more represented in parliament, than the foreigners who sojourn in England, or the English who live abroad.

Permit me to state the question more particularly than I have done in my former letter. Mr. Wesley thinks, that the Colonists are mistaken, when they consider themselves as put on a level with slaves, because they are taxed by a parliament in which they have no representatives of their own choosing: I say, *of their own choosing*, because I apprehend that, as all the freeholders and voting burgesses in Great Britain virtually represent the commonalty of all the British Empire (except Ireland, which being a kingdom by itself, and no English colony, coins its own money, and has its peculiar parliament); and as such free-

holders, &c. virtually represent all that commonalty, whether it be made up of voters or non-voters, of poor men or men of property, of men at home, at sea, or on the continent: so the House of Commons virtually represents all the freeholders and voting burgesses in Great Britain; whether they voted or not at the last election, or whether they voted for or against the sitting members.

With an eye to this virtual representation, which draws after it a passive submission to taxation, Mr. W. asks: "*Am I, and two millions of Englishmen,*" who have no right to vote for representatives in parliament, "*made slaves, because we are taxed without our own consent?*" You reply: "*Yes, Sir, if you are taxed without your own consent, you are slaves.*" You consider such taxation as "*The very quintessence of slavery;*" you declare, that, if the Americans submit to it, "*their condition differs not from that of the most abject slaves in the universe;*" and you insinuate, that, whoever attempts to tax them otherwise than by their direct representatives, "*attempts an injury; whoever does it, commits robbery; he throws down the distinction between liberty and slavery. Taxation and representation (you mean direct representation) are coeval with, and essential to this constitution.*" But when you publish such assertions, which justify the armed Colonists, and represent the majority in parliament as a gang of robbers, does not an enthusiastic warmth for lawless liberty carry you beyond the bounds of calm reflection? And are you aware of the stab which you give the constitution; and of the insult which you offer, not only to your superiors, but also to millions of your worthy countrymen, whom you absurdly stigmatize as some of the *most abject slaves in the universe?*"

Probably not one in five of our husbandmen, sailors, soldiers, mechanics, day-labourers, and hired servants, are freeholders or voting burgesses. And must four out of five, in these numerous classes of free-born Englishmen, wear the badge of the *most abject slavery* in compliance with your chimerical notions of liberty? We are not allowed to vote so long as we are minors; and

and must also all our blooming young men, from seventeen years of age to twenty-one, be considered as "*most abject slaves?*" You may say, indeed, that they are represented by their parents or guardians: but what, if these guardians or parents have no vote themselves? Besides, if minors can be thus represented, why should not our Colonies be represented in the same manner by the Mother-Country, which has so tenderly nursed, and so carefully protected them from their infancy?—To return: If the wives of freeholders are supposed to vote by their husbands, what must we say of those who have buried their husbands? Have all widows buried their liberty with the partner of their bed?—A freeholder has seven children: he leaves his freehold to his eldest son; and because he cannot leave a freehold to all, will you reproach him as the father of six abject slaves?—Another freeholder, to pay his debts, is obliged to sell his freehold, and of consequence his right of taxing himself. Does he sell his liberty with his freehold, and "*involve himself in absolute slavery?*"—The general election comes on: a young gentleman wants a few months of the age which the law requires in a voter; and of consequence he cannot yet chuse his own representative; must he continue *a slave* till the next election?—A knight, disapproved of by most voters in the county, offers to represent them; they try in vain to get some other gentlemen to oppose him; and the candidate whom they tacitly object to, fits in the house chiefly for want of a competitor. Is their liberty at all affected by this kind of involuntary representation, which draws after it a kind of involuntary taxation?—At the next election, perhaps, the opposition runs high between several candidates: one has [I suppose] 2000 votes; another, 1900; and a third, 1700. The first is elected: two thousand freeholders are taxed by a representative of their own chusing, and 3600 voters go home disappointed of their choice; and having the mortification of being taxed by a man whom they did not vote into parliament; nay, by a man whom they opposed with all their might. Their choice is, perhaps,

haps equally frustrated with regard to the other knight of the shire. Now, are these 3600 voters in any degree reduced to a state of slavery, till they can have an opportunity of being represented according to their mind?—Again; a free-born Englishman is possessed of a house, which he sets for thirty-eight shillings a year; for want of two shillings more in his yearly income he is no freeholder; and like the Colonists, he is taxed without his consent: is he "*an abject slave*" on this account? Wild patriotism answers in the affirmative, but impartial men smile and say, What! is British liberty so mean a blessing, as to depend upon a couple of shillings? Could a Jew make it turn on an hinge more contemptible than this? O Sir, what a low price does your system indirectly fix upon a jewel, on which you seem to set so immense a value! Once more: during the last election, myriads of Englishmen were abroad, some upon their travels or for their health, and others upon civil, military, or mercantile business: nor had they any more share in the choice of the parliament-men who now tax them, than the American Colonists; and will you aver, Sir, that if all these Englishmen were collected, they might constitutionally reform the constitution, and tax themselves by a congress composed of men who stimulate them to discontent? Will you assert, that such a congress would do well to make laws in opposition to the statutes of the King and parliament? and would you call the members of such a congress loyal subjects, if they raised an army to drive the King's forces out of his own dominions; yea, out of those very provinces, where they held their land by gracious grants of the crown;—where they have acquired their wealth under the protection of the Mother-Country;—and where the Sovereign's forces, which they now endeavour to cut off, have kindly fought their battles?

To come nearer to the point: some years ago, Lord Clive, member for Shrewsbury, went to the East Indies; and Lord Pigot, member for Bridgnorth, is now gone there. Their estates are immensely large; yet

yet in consequence of their leaving England, the former Lord was, and the latter is, taxed without his consent. And will you stand to your absurd doctrine, Sir, and infer, that the burgesses of Shrewsbury were, and that those of Bridgnorth are, reduced to a partial, temporary state of slavery, by the emigration of one of their representatives; and that Lord Clive was, and Lord Pigot now is, an absolute slave; because, in consequence of their emigration, the former was, and the latter is, taxed without his consent? If you say that Lord Clive came back to England, and that Lord Pigot may return, and tax himself, if he pleases; I reply, This is exactly the case with the Colonists: by emigration they are prevented from sharing in the legislative power of the parliament. But let them come back, if they have set their hearts upon legislative honours. The Mother-Country, and the parliament-house, are as open to them, as to any free-born Englishman. They may purchase freeholds, they may be made burgesses of corporate towns, they may be chosen members of the house of commons; and some of them, if I mistake not, sit already there. The Colonists are then on a level, not only with Britons in general, but with all our members of parliament who are abroad. And therefore, to demand superior privileges, is to demand rights which no Britons have, and of which the members of parliament who go out of Great Britain never thought of; our British Nabobs not excepted.

As mountain rises upon mountain among the Alps, so absurdities rise upon absurdities in your system: take some more instances of it. If we believe you, Sir, *he* is an *abject slave*, who is taxed without his consent. Hence follows another absurdity. The day that an additional land-tax is laid to subdue the Colonies, the knights of a large shire are absent: the one, I suppose, is kept from the house by illness, and the other is called into the country by business, or pleasure; neither votes for the bill. Now, Sir, are they, and the county they represent, made slaves by being taxed without their consent?—If you reply, that their not

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opposing the bill implies that they consent to it : I answer, The inference is not just. I did not oppose the last murder which was committed in the county, but you would wrong me, if you infer that I consented to it. Many clergymen will not oppose your letter, who nevertheless reprobate the doctrine it contains.

But, granting that your inference is just, I press you closer, and point out two knights [suppose the members for Middlesex] who oppose the bill with all their might. And yet the bill passes. Now, Sir, if your scheme of liberty is right, it follows, that our great patriots, and the little patriots whom they represent, are abject slaves : for they are evidently taxed, not only without their consent, but against their warmest opposition ; seeing they are additionally taxed to bring their mistaken friends to reason. How excessively absurd then is your scheme, Sir ; since it not only puts the badge of the most abject slavery upon all the Britons who are not electors, but also upon all the electors and members of parliament, who call themselves *patriots*, with as much confidence as some mistaken divines call themselves *orthodox* !

You reply, “ In all collective bodies the determinations of the majority of that body, are always considered as the determinations of the whole body : and every man who enters into society implicitly consents it should be so.” Mr. W. and I, Sir, thank you for this concession. If you and the Colonists stand to it, you will throw down your pen, and lay their arms. For every body knows, that Great Britain and her Colonies make a collective, political body, called the British empire : and you declare, that, “ *in all* such bodies, “ *the determinations of the majority are always considered as the determinations of the whole body.*” Now, Sir, if you do but allow that Great Britain is the *majority* of the British empire [and you cannot reasonably deny it ; considering the glory, wealth, fame, and invincible navy of the mother-country ; together with the grant she made to the Colonies of the large provinces, which they hold under her, as cottagers hold their gardens and ha-bitat-

bitations under the lord of the manor, who gave them leave to enclose and build upon a part of the waste within the limits of his jurisdiction]—if you do but allow, I say, that Great Britain is the majority of the British empire; according to your own concession, *the determinations of Great Britain are to be always considered as the determiniations of the whole British empire; and every colony “implicitly consents it should be so.”* But the American Colonies have not only implicitly consented it should be so; they have also done it explicitly, by humbly thanking the king for their charters, one of the first of which says, in express terms, you are exempt from paying taxes to the king for seven years; plainly implying, says Mr. W. with great truth, that, after those seven years, they were to pay taxes like other subjects, if the sovereign taxed them: And if the king and parliament has allowed them a longer time, it is absurd and wicked to draw from this indulgence a plea to palliate a notorious breach of trust. As for their last charter, that of Pennsylvania, it says in express terms, that they are liable to taxation by the parliament; and therefore their rising against such taxation is ingratitude, perverseness, and breach of charter, from first to last.

One more remark upon your important concession. If you grant that the minority in parliament has implicitly and passively consented to the measures of the majority, though very much against their will: witness their warm petitions, protestations, remonstrances, &c. do you not abundantly grant this leading proposition to Mr. W.’s Address, in a thousand cases, “*any other than this kind of consent the condition of civil life does not allow?*” Thus [so great is the force of truth!] after all your outcry against your opponent, you yourself lay down his grand principle: You come back to the very point whence he started, and are reduced to the mortifying necessity of maintaining, that our English patriots, so called, are some of the most abject slaves in the universe; or that our American Colonies are some of

the most unreasonable Colonies in the world, since they take up arms to oppose legislative power to which they have consented, not only *implicitly* and *passively*, as the minority does to the majority in parliament; but *explicitly* and *actively*: witness the charter of the Colony in which the congress is assembled, and the constant submission, which for many years they have paid to the British laws; supreme laws these, according to which they have suffered their lives, and the liberty of their persons, to be disposed of; though they had no more hand in actually making these laws, than the Great Mogul; since most of them were made before any living Englishman drew his first breath.

To shew that taxation and representation are inseparable according to the constitution, you produce the bare assertions of Lord Camden, Lord Chatham, and Montesquieu, a French author: But permit me to observe, Sir, that all the Frenchmen and English lords in the world, can never overthrow a doctrine, which [as I have shewn in my first letter] stands or falls with reason, scripture, and matter of fact.

If your noble auxiliaries, to whom you join Mr. Locke, mean an *indirect* representation, we readily assent to their assertion; and we reply, that, in this sense, the taxation of the Colonists is not separated from representation: For the Colonies of Great Britain are *indirectly* represented by Great Britain, as the children of electors are *indirectly* represented by their fathers; as the non-voters at elections are *indirectly* represented by the voters; and as the electors who are at sea, or on the continent, are *indirectly* represented by those who are in the island. But if those lords mean a *direct* representation, they are desired to shew how all the myriads of men non-voters in Great Britain, to say nothing of minors, widows, maidens, bed-ridden or imprisoned burghesses, and absent freeholders, are *directly* represented in the parliament which now taxes them, if [through a variety of insurmountable obstacles] they neither did, nor could, vote for a representative at the last election.

Till you, Sir, or the lords who patronize your system, have removed this difficulty out of the way of your patriotism; you will allow us to think, that you deal in irrational, unscriptural, and unconstitutional paradoxes, when, speaking of taxation and *direct representation*, you say, "God has joined them. No British parliament can separate them: To endeavour to do it, is to stab our vitals."

When you have rashly charged nonsense upon God, you may well indirectly charge robbery upon the king: Accordingly your patriotism mounts the rostrum, and makes this convincing speech: "My position is this—I repeat it—I will maintain it to my last hour: taxation and representation are inseparable: this position is founded on the law of nature; it is more: it is an eternal law of nature;" —I grant it, Sir, if by *nature* you mean the fallen nature of the men *who say, With our tongue will we prevail, our lips are our own; who is Lord over us?* Ps. xii. 4. But you go on: "Whatever is a man's own, is absolutely his own: no man has a right to take it from him without his consent, either expressed by himself or representative." Nay, you grow so warm as to say: "Whoever attempts to do it," [i. e. agreeably to the context, whoever attempts to tax a man, who has not consented to the tax, either personally or by his *direct representative*] "attempts an injury: whoever does it," [and the king has done it] commits a robbery."—What a speech! God save the king from such severe judges as you are!

Nothing can be more false, Sir, than the principle on which you found your bold, though indirect indictment: "Whatever is a man's own, is absolutely *his own.*" I do not scruple to assert, that this principle is detestable, as being unscriptural—*irrational*—and highly unconstitutional.—(1.) *Unscriptural:* For the scriptures teach us, that God is the first and grand proprietor of all things; that *the powers that are, are ordained of him;* and that [for the ends mentioned in my First Letter] he delegates his dominion and authority to kings and magistrates. Hence it is, that

both in the Old and New Testament, those who make and enforce laws, are called gods; and that St. Paul declares, *He that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves condemnation.* To say therefore, that what we have, is *absolutely* our own, is to shake off the yoke of God's supreme dominion, and of the delegated dominion of kings, lawgivers, and magistrates, who are his lieutenants and representatives.

(2.) Your principle is *irrational*: For, if "whatever a man has, is *absolutely* his own;" it follows that non-voters and foreigners, who never consented to our laws, either personally or by appointing their representatives, can never be taxed, imprisoned, or hanged, unless they first sign the warrants, by which their property, liberty, or life, is legally disposed of. And if to dispose of their property by taxation is robbery; by the same rule we may say, that to dispose of their liberty and life by legal warrants which they have not endorsed, is inhospitable tyranny, and downright murder.

(3.) Your principle is highly *unconstitutional*. Not one half of the inhabitants of Great Britain have a share in the legislative power; nevertheless the properties, liberties, and lives of all, are disposed of according to law. The constitution allows it:—the constitution enjoins it. And yet you tell us, that disposing of the property of non-voters is *unconstitutional*; and that to lay taxes upon them, is to commit robbery. Now, Sir, if you are right, the government robs 212 families only in my parish. With two of my neighbours I have just calculated the number of housekeepers in our little district: Upon a moderate computation we find 78 freeholders in 290 families. Hence it follows that 212 families out of 290 have no share in legislation, either personally, or by sending any representative to parliament. And yet all these families are taxed: The masters of some of them, who live upon large farms, for which they pay the land-tax, pay more to the government than most freeholders. To say nothing

thing of the land-tax and highway money, they are all taxed in most of the articles which they use in housekeeping. The tea and sugar they drink in the morning, the salt they eat at noon, the candle they burn at night, the shoes they wear all the day, are taxed : Their tobacco, snuff, gin, ale, and rum [great articles with too many of them] are all taxed : That according to your unconstitutional doctrine, they are robbed from morning till night. The freeholders, officers of excise, and collectors of taxes, are little robbers ; and the king and his parliament, the great robbers. Did ever any patriot pour more contempt upon the constitution, than you inadvertently do ? If you could proselyte me to your patriotism, Sir, I would no more celebrate the 5th of Nov. as a day of thanksgiving : I would wish success to any that would venture his neck, in order to blow up the den of thieves, with all the robbers who assemble therein.

You insinuate that these 212 non-voters are "*able to purchase a freehold if they chuse it,*" and to become voters for themselves and their families. But you are mistaken, Sir ; I know my parish better than you. Some of the housekeepers I mention, could not vote on account of their sex, though they should have twenty estates ; and most of the rest would find it, through their poverty, much more difficult to purchase a freehold, than most of our American patriots.

You answer. If this is the case, their "*property must be so small, that it can be of no consequence to them who has the granting of it.*" But I argue in a quite contrary manner : For, if my poor parishioners have little of the necessaries of life, by every dictate of common sense, it is of the greatest consequence to them, not to be *robbed* of that little. Those who have blood to spare, may trust their arm in the hands of almost any surgeon : But those whose veins are already drained, are deeply interested in the choice of him, who is to let out the precious drops, which they can so ill part with. The parting with a couple of shillings, or the losing of two days

work in mending the highways, is more to a poor man who has a large family, than the losing of 2000, is to a man of fortune. Taxes are never felt by the rich; because they pay them out of their superfluous abundance: whereas the poor part with some of the necessaries of life, whenever they part with a penny. Besides, the poor, not being able to buy meat, live chiefly upon bread, which is the cheapest food. They eat a pound of it, where the rich eat an ounce. Therefore, when our wealthy legislators raise the price of bread, by allowing a bounty for the exportation of corn, or by forbidding the importation, or permitting the distilling of it, they reap the principal benefit, and the poor bear the principal burden. You advance, therefore, a monstrous paradox, when you insinuate, that legislation "can be of no consequence" to the poor: For the capital branch of legislation, which raises or sinks the price of corn, chiefly concerns the lowest class of mankind, by whom corn is chiefly consumed.

This is not all. The legislative power disposes of our life and locomotive liberty, as well as of our property. I have seen some free-born Englishmen, who never had any share in legislation, put in the stocks or sent to jail: I have seen others loaded with irons, ready for transportation; and others with a rope about their neck, ready for the gallows. Now, as the poor are as much concerned in the disposal of their locomotive liberty and life, as the rich, do you not betray gross partiality, Sir, when you represent the poor, as persons who may be doomed to *abject slavery*, which your system supposes to be inseparably connected with our having no share in legislation. Indigence and slavery are not naturally connected. The poor Indians are as jealous of their liberty as you. And when the Lacedemonians and the Romans were in the lowest circumstances, they valued their liberty most.

'Tis true, you insinuate that all who cannot purchase a freehold, are not absolutely obliged to remain slaves; because a place in the legislature is a

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" privilege extended in a few boroughs to every one that boils a pot." But does not this very argument pour fresh contempt upon your notions of slavery and liberty? Does it not make English liberty, or abject slavery, to turn upon the boiling, or the not boiling, of a pot? However, supposing that all who are not able to purchase freeholds, could avoid slavery by crowding with their families into the few boroughs you mention: which many Colonists could do with greater ease than thousands of Britons: Or, supposing this peculiar privilege were extended to all the pot boilers in Great Britain; would you mend the constitution by these means? No: you would only avoid one inconvenience by running upon another: For the rich would justly complain of a levelling scheme, which would allow every starving cottager to have as good a right of granting of their property, as they have themselves.

Again: if Britons, and sons of Britons, must be "*equally represented*," with respect to the disposal of their property, in order to be free-men; have not the rich a right to make a congress, and to enact, that, as the man who has forty shillings a year in land, has one vote; so he, who has twice forty shillings, should have two votes; and he, who has ten thousand pounds a year, should have five thousand votes; by which means, he might return himself member for any poor borough in the kingdom?—On the other hand, will not the poor have as good a right to rise in their turn, and to form another congress, under pretence, that rich men have but one body, and one life, any more than the poor; and therefore it is unreasonable, that the rich should have so much greater a part in legislation than they?—Nor will the mischief stop here: the wise and experienced will rise also, and urge, it is absurd that a young man, or a fool, should have as great a share in the legislature as a wise, aged man; and they will insist on having votes according to their wisdom and years; nor will their claim be, in my judgment, the most unreasonable.

This is not all: every little market-town, and every ancient village, will insist on sending two representatives.

sentatives to parliament, as well as Wenlock and Old Sarum. By the rule of proportion, large towns, cities, and populous counties will claim a right of sending a number of members so much greater, as they are larger than Cornish boroughs, and more populous than Huntingdonshire. Thus we shall have an army of parliament-men, who, like the Polish nobility at their diets, will not be able to hear one another speak, and will be more ready to draw the sword than to make laws. And if such a parliament is to be chosen every year, as you intimate it should, the nation will spend half her time in raising armies of pot-boilers, to raise another army of lawgivers.

From these, and many such inconveniences, it appears, Sir, that your scheme of *equal representation* is absurd and impossible; and that, before you can bring it to bear, you must first get all Britons to be equally wise, rich, noble, learned, experienced, and diligent: Secondly, you must make them all of one sex and age: and thirdly, you must contrive to make them all live in the same place, and at the same time. If you consider the difficulty of such a task, I flatter myself, Sir, that you will be less ready to find fault with the constitution, and to make the injudicious wish for a revolution productive of *equal representation*, that is, of an absolute impossibility. Much less will you persuade, even, patriots, that the King and the majority in parliament "commit robbery," and "stab our vitals," when they tax the Colonists, as they do two of their subjects in England out of three, that is, without a direct representative.

You try indeed to obviate this difficulty by intimating, that the vast body of free-born Englishmen, who have no right to chuse their representatives, or who, through absence, cannot exercise their right, may "consent to the disposal of their property, because they have always this security, that those who take an active part in the disposal of their property, must at the same time dispose of an equal proportion of their own."—Whereas "the American can have no voice in the disposal of his property; and what is worse, those who are to have the power of disposing of it,

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are under every possible temptation to abuse that power, because every shilling they take out of the pocket of an American is so much saved in their own."

As this is your capital argument, I shall give it a full answer.—(1.) It is improbable, that our law-givers would save a dirty shilling in their pocket, by oppressively taking one out of an American's pocket. If I am rightly informed, they are so far from abusing their power in this respect, that when they take six-pence for the use of the Government out of an American's pocket, they take sixteen shillings out of their own.—(2.) Our excellent constitution obviates your ungenerous suspicion, by ordering, that the legislators, who compose the lower house of the parliament, shall all be men of fortune, raised by their circumstances above the felonious trick you speak of.—(3.) You mistake, when you say, that "the American can have no voice in the disposal of his property; for as many of the Colonists as chuse to purchase a free-hold in England, may become electors; and as many as have a sufficient fortune, may become candidates at the next election. You speak, yourself, of your "*late American candidate, who was a friend to America.*" If I mistake not, we have American members in the house; and the papers inform us, that — Sayer, Esq; who is a native of Boston, claims a seat in the parliament; and, if he obtains it, he will not only represent his borough, but also, in connection with his fellow-members, he will represent the commonalty of all the British empire, except Ireland. Hence it is, that the minority in parliament, though they are not the special representatives of the Colonists, plead their cause so warmly, even against the privileges of the electors, whom they particularly represent.—(4.) Supposing these American members have no estates beyond the Atlantic; are there not several members in both houses of parliament, who have a large, very large property in America; and who, when they tax the Colonists, take far more money out of their own pocket, than they probably do out of the pocket

pocket of Mess. Adams and Hancock?—(5.) If the Colonists were afraid of being taxed more heavily than the rule of proportion allows; should they not have humbly requested the parliament, that, before they were taxed at all, their jealousies might be removed by an act drawn up in such a manner as to set bounds to their taxes, in proportion to the bounds which are set to their commercial privileges? And would not our lawgivers have granted them so reasonable a request? But, to rise absolutely against all taxation by act of parliament, merely because it is taxation, by the legislative power of Great Britain; to destroy the property of our fellow-subjects, by raising riotous mobs against them; and to take up arms against the Sovereign to defend such proceedings, argues, in my judgment, a temper which you may call patriotism, but looks too much like the sin forbidden in Rom. xiii. 2.—Lastly, If pleading that our superiors may abuse their power over us, were a sufficient reason to shake off the yoke of lawful authority; all apprentices (though ever so well used) might directly emancipate themselves; for they might adopt your argument, and say, My master indeed uses me well; but “*he is under every possible temptation*” to starve me; since every meal which he will save in denying me proper food, will be a meal saved for himself or his own children; and therefore I will cut and carve for myself, or I will acknowledge him as a master no more.

I shall be less prolix in my answer to the rest of your arguments. You appeal to the Irish, who are taxed by their own parliament: but their case is very different from that of the Colonists; for Ireland was annexed to the dominions of the King of England, not as a colony, or a kingdom subjected to England, but as a sister-kingdom; and, as such, she has enjoyed the supreme power of making her own laws, and (in part) of coining her own money. This was the case with Scotland also; and therefore the Scots were allowed to send a number of representatives to both houses of parliament, when the two kingdoms were united into one. Not so the Colonies. They never were

on a level with England ; they never had supreme dominion ; they were always the subjects of the King and parliament of England, who granted them the territories they enjoy ; and therefore, for them to demand, in opposition to their charters, rights superior to those of the Britons, who settle abroad under the protection of Great Britain ; and for them to claim the prerogatives of sister kingdoms, is as great a stretch of lawless liberty, as for chartered corporations in England, or for the English settled in Minorca, Jamaica, Gibraltar, Bengal, &c. to claim the prerogatives of supreme governments, and the privileges of the kingdoms which were joined by mutual agreement to the crown of England.

You likewise appeal to the Palatinate of Chester, whose inhabitants pleaded, " that the English parliament had no right to tax them ; that they had a parliament of their own, &c. But, granting that the parliament of that Palatinate was once as independent on the English parliament as the Palatinate in Germany, can you, without absurdity, infer from thence, that the Colonists are so ? Permit me to make you sensible of the inconclusiveness of your arguments, by bringing it to light, thus : ' The Palatinate of Chester was formerly independent on the parliament of England : they could produce grants or charters to demonstrate, that they had a parliament of their own, and the prerogative of making their own laws ; and therefore the Colonies, which have no such grants and charters ; the Colonies, which have always been subject to the English parliament ;—the Colonies, whose grants directly or indirectly mention subjection to the English parliament, shall not be subject to the English parliament.' If Mr. W. had advanced such an argument as this, you might have as reasonably complained, that he deals in " childish quirks," as you now do without reason ; for common sense dictates, that it is absurd to conclude, that the peculiar privileges enjoyed by the Palatinate of Chester, ought to be granted to all the Colonies ; as it is to infer, that

that the peculiar privileges of the house of commons belong to every corporation in the kingdom.

To this refutation of your arguments, permit me to add a remark upon your answer to Mr. W.'s most striking plea. You are sensible of the advantage which he has over you, where he appeals to the *express terms* of the charters granted to the Colonists. You know, that honest men dare not go from their bargain; and that a charter is nothing but a solemn bargain committed to writing, whereby the sovereign makes such and such grants to his subjects upon such and such terms; and you know, that if the subjects accept the grants, they agree to the terms on which these grants are made. Mr. W. says, "Remember your last charter, that of Pennsylvania, says, in *express terms*, you are liable to taxation."—Here, Sir, you seem embarrassed; and, to get off as well as you can, you tell us, that the clause of the charter, which Mr. W. appeals to, "was never understood to mean a power of internal taxation for the purpose of raising a revenue; but merely the laying on of such duties, as might be necessary solely for the regulation of trade." But your mistake was lately demonstrated before the house of lords, by the testimony of Governor Penn. Lord Denbigh asked him at the bar of the house, If he was well acquainted with the charter of Pennsylvania? He replied, that "he had read the charter, and was well acquainted with the contents." Lord Denbigh asked, "If he did not know, there was a clause which specifically subjected the colony to taxation by the British legislature?" and he answered, "He was well apprised there was such a clause." Now, Sir, as you are so evidently mistaken in your account of the charter of Pennsylvania; you will permit me to think, that you give us as fabulous an account of the charter of Massachusett's Bay, when you say, you are credibly informed, that the exemption from taxes for seven years, which was granted to the colonists of that province, "had no reference to what we commonly mean by taxes, but to something, which you call "quit rents."—An odd criticism

ticism this, which I should imitate, if I insinuated, that when the Apostle charges us to *pay custom*, he does not mean, that we should pay what we commonly understand by custom ; but only that tenants should pay their rent. From this specimen, it is easy to determine, who have most reason to complain of "mutilated charters," the patriots, or the parliament.

Having so long pleaded the cause of my Sovereign and my country, I may be allowed to bestow a few paragraphs upon my friend. You say to him, "It is fallacious to the last degree, and unworthy of a man of integrity and candor to insinuate, as you are pleased to do, that the people have ceded to the king and parliament the power of disposing, without their consent, of both their lives, liberties, and properties." I shall make no remark, Rev. Sir, on the Christian courtesy of this address. We, who pass for *abject slaves*, expect such liberal hints from you *patriots*, and to tell you the truth, we think it an honour to share them with our King, and our Legislature. But, may not I ask a few questions, which will throw some light upon Mr. W.'s remark ? When did all the freeholders, who have estates from fifty to ninety nine pounds a year, consent to be deprived of the liberty to carry a gun, and to shoot a hare on their own land ? When did all the Quakers consent to pay tithes, for the non-payment of which their property is forcibly taken from them according to act of parliament, to the amount of several thousand pounds a year ? When did all the clergy, who lately petitioned the parliament for the repeal of the thirty-nine articles, consent that the act, which orders subscription to these articles, should continue in force ? When did all the freeholders in Middlesex consent to be additionally taxed, in order to enforce the taxation of the Colonists ? When did all our blustering gentlemen consent to be sent to the house of correction, or to pay five shillings, every time they demean themselves, by profane cursing or swearing ? When did all the dissenters consent to the law, which obliges them to conform to the church of England, if they will have places

places under the government? And, to sum up all in one question, When did one half of the Lords, who distinguish themselves by their violent opposition to the measures of the government, consent that their liberty, estate, title, and life, should be forfeited, if they should assist their fellow-patriots, who take up arms against the King and parliament? If you give me a satisfactory answer to these queries, I will give you leave to reflect on my friend's integrity for his assertion. But remember, Sir, that, if you fly to the back-door of an *implicit consent* to make your escape, Mr. Wesley, like an honest man, will meet you face to face; and stopping you in the name of consistency, he will demonstrate that, according to your evasive doctrine, you, yourself, have taxed the Colonists, "committed robbery," and "stabbed our vitals."

You try another method to overthrow Mr. Wesley's arguments. You object, that, five years ago, he did not defend the measures taken with regard to America; "*because he doubted*" whether they were at all defensible: and you have been informed, that he has since represented the Americans as "an oppressed, injured people;" and has warmly expressed his fears, with respect to the danger of our liberties. But who could blame Mr. Wesley then; and who can blame him now? Is not a good man bound by his conscience to judge without partiality, according to the best information he has? When Mr. W. heard the clamours of the patriots, so called, who inveighed against the sovereign for breach of charter; he really thought that they had truth, and the charters of the Colonists, on their side; and therefore he considered the claims of the government upon the Colonists as subversive of charter, and consequently as faithless, injurious, and oppressive. Nor is it surprising that, upon such a wrong information, he should have thought our liberties in danger; for if the sovereign had really violated the charters of the Colonies, he might next have attempted to violate the Great Charter of England. But when Mr. W. was better informed; when he

found that the charters of the Colonies were as much for the sovereign, as the patriots had insinuated they were against him, Mr. W. would not have acted as a conscientious man, if he had not altered his mind, according to this important and decisive information.

But, supposing I mistake the reason, which has determined Mr. W. to defend the claims of Great Britain : and supposing you have been rightly informed concerning the change of his political sentiments ; what can you infer from thence, but that he once leaned too much towards your overdoing patriotism. He once " doubted" the equity of the sovereign's claims. His strong patriotism gave an hasty preponderance to his doubts ; but, his candor having proceeded to a close examination of the question, light has sprung up ; conviction has followed ; and he has laid before the public the result of his second thoughts, and the arguments which have scattered his doubts. For my part, far from thinking the worse of a rational conviction, because it follows a doubt, and has met with some opposition in a good man's mind, I am inclined to pay it a greater regard. And, if my friend's warm patriotism has been forced to yield to the strength of the arguments contained in his Calm Address, I am thereby encouraged to hope, that your warm patriotism, Sir, will not be less candid than his ; and that you will yield to the arguments contained in this calm Vindication. Should this be the case, the public will see in you both, that reason and conscience can, at last, perfectly balance patriotism and loyalty in the breast of a good man.

With respect to me, Sir, I had not deeply entered into the merit of the cause either way, before I saw Mr. W.'s Address and your answer to it. I contented myself to wish and pray for peace in general, without inquiring who was right and who wrong. But after an attentive perusal of your publications, I was fully convinced, that Mr. W.'s doctrine of government and taxation is rational, scriptural, and

constitutional; and that yours, Sir, draws after it a chain of the most absurd consequences, has a tendency to promote licentiousness, and is subversive of all the scripture-precepts which I have quoted in my first letter: And therefore, my reverence for God's word, my duty to the king, my regard for my friend, my love to injured truth, and the consciousness of the sweet liberty, which I enjoy under the government, call for this little tribute of my pen. And I pay it so much the more cheerfully, as few men in the kingdom have had a better opportunity of trying which is most eligible—a republican government—or the mild, tempered monarchy of England. I have lived more than twenty years the subject of two of the mildest republics in Europe: I have been, for above that number of years, the subject of your sovereign's; and, from sweet experience, I can set my seal to this clause of the King's Speech, at the opening of this session of parliament. "To be a subject of Great Britain, with all its consequences, is to be the happiest subject of any civil government in the world." That you, Sir, and all my dissatisfied fellow-subjects, may be as sensible of this truth as myself; and that I may be daily more thankful to God, to the king, and to the parliament, for the religious and civil liberty which we enjoy, is the cordial wish of,

Rev. Sir,

Your affectionate fellow-labourer in the Gospel,

J. F.

THIRD LETTER.

Rev. Sir,

MY wishes for your happiness, and my concern for the public peace, prompt me to try all the means in my power, to remove your prejudices, and to stop the ferment raised by your mistakes. Having therefore addressed you as a man, a Christian, and a Briton, I shall now expostulate with you, as a protestant, and a friend to liberty.

The distinguishing character of a protestant, is to rest his doctrine upon reason and scripture. But, upon which of these foundations, Sir, do you rest your doctrine of power? You insinuate, that the power of Kings ascends from the people: you blame your opponent for having intimated, that it descends from God; and you recommend a levelling scheme of equal representation, founded upon a natural, equal right of sharing in the legislative power; a scheme this, which presupposes, that one man in society, has naturally as much right to make and repeal laws, as another. Whence it evidently follows, that subjects have a right to rise against their Sovereign, whenever they think it proper to make, in connection with their neighbours, a decree or law of insurrection; and that every individual, in conjunction with other individuals, has a supreme right to dispose of property and royal honours, whether it be by equalizing ranks and fortunes, or by putting down one king and setting up another.

I own to you, Sir, that although this scheme would give me a significance in life which I never dreamed

of, 'I dare not embrace it. The vanity of considering myself as a member of the body, which your doctrine represents as the supreme Lawgiver, the Judge of legislators, and the Maker of kings ;—this flattering vanity, I say, cannot induce me to renounce the dictates of reason, and the declarations of Scripture.

Reason informs me, that the first man was endued with a power to protect and rule mankind ; that all men are born in a state of civil society, because no child was ever his own father, his own mother, his own nurse, or his own protector ; and that, of consequence, all men were under as strong an obligation of submitting to the first man (in all things agreeable to God's supreme dominion) as the first man was, of submitting to God. If Adam had not sinned and died, to this day he would be, under God, the monarch of all the earth, and all king's would be bound to acknowledge his supreme authority. This divine right of dominion Adam received from God. At his death, he left it behind him ; and, even before his death, it began to subdivide itself into every branch of family-government, and national administration. Hence it is, that *the Powers that are*, are said to be *ordained of God* ; and that magistrates and governors are called *gods* in the Old and New Testament. It appears to me therefore as irrational, to say, that the power of sovereigns comes originally from the people, as to say, that the sanction of the fifth commandment comes originally from man. Nor dare I any more assert, that the people have a natural right to inthrone and dethrone kings, than I dare maintain that children and scholars, have a natural right to bestow or take away paternal and magisterial authority ; or that the hands and feet have a natural right to rule the head and heart. I grant that if all the people will rebel against their rightful Sovereign, they are able to depose and destroy him. But arguing from *might to right* is the logic of a tyrant, a robber, and a mob ; not that of a man, a Christian, and a Protestant. If all the sons of Adam had plotted his destruction, they probably could have effected it : but their

their having a power to sin, would have been no proof that they had a licence so to do. You may call this a “ Jacobite doctrine,” Sir, but such a name does no more make it unreasonable, than your calling Mr. Wesley a slave, deprives him of his liberty.

As this doctrine of power, so far as power is, exercised in subordination to God’s supreme dominion, is agreeable to reason: so it is to scripture. Search the sacred records, Sir, and you will see, that *they who resist the above described power, resist, not the ordinance of the people, but the ordinance of God himself,* Rom. xiii. 2. Kings, in the sacred pages, are said to be the *Lord’s anointed*, and not the anointed of the people; and the men of God inform us, that *God removeth kings, and setteth up kings* in his own right, Dan. ii. 21.

I grant, that, when the Lord designs to punish a nation, or a tyrant, he often suffers the people, or some ambitious man from among the people, to usurp his right, and to procure an unlawful coronation. Nor do I deny that, in lawful coronations, the Lord invites the people to fall in with his providential choice; and that, sometimes, he brings his choice about by means of the people. But the fullest concurrence of the people does not deprive him of his divine prerogative. Hence it is, that the Psalmist says, *Promotion cometh neither from the east, nor from the west, nor yet from the south. And why? God is the [supreme] Judge: He putteth down one and setteth up another,* Psal. lxxv. 7, 8. This is his incontestable right. If the people therefore stand in need of a rod of iron, to bruise their stubborn backs; he may give them a [cruel] king in his anger, Hos. xiii. 11. Or what is still worse, he may suffer them to set over themselves a tyrant, whose name is *Legion*; for they are many. And *Legion* will drive them into a sea of trouble, as fiercely and as arbitrarily as a certain Legion formerly drove an herd of stout, unruly animals into the sea of Galilee. May our American brethren never be given over to so dreadful a delusion!

If legislative, royal power ascended from the people, the Lord would not have elected Moses to be the Law-giver, and Joshua to be the Leader of Israel, without first consulting the twelve tribes. Nor would he have raised them judges afterwards, without previously asking their consent. Much less would he have anointed Saul, David, Jehu, and others, to be kings over Israel, in so arbitrary a manner as he did. To prove your doctrine therefore, you must appeal to the right exercised by some lawless *citizens*, mentioned by our Lord, who unjustly *hated* their Sovereign, and said, *We will not have this man to reign over us*, Luke xix. 14. And, if you please, to this precedent you may add the example of those pharisaic fickle patriots, who once insisted upon making Christ their king, and afterwards cried, *We will have no king but Cæsar : let Jesus be crucified.* From the designs of such uneasy religionists, such makers and killers of kings, may God deliver the king and his dominions ! Let a Theudas, a Barabbas, a Caiphas, make insurrections against Cæsar, and raise mobs against Christ himself ; but let not pious Christians, who dissent from the Church of England, dissent from the prophets and apostles, when they say, *My son, fear thou the Lord, and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change*, Prov. xxiv. 21. *Submit to the King, as supreme.—Fear God : Honour the King :—Yea, honour him with thy substance, by paying tribute, or taxes, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake*, 1 Pet. ii. 13, &c. Rom. xiii. 5, 6. Prov. iii. 9.

The levelling scheme, on which you found your doctrine of a right to equal representation, is the rock upon which rigid republicans perpetually run. Against this very rock many of the first, over-doing Protestants steered their course, and dashed their ark in pieces. They had long groaned under Popish tyranny ; and when the yoke, which had galled them for ages, was broken, they did not know how to contain themselves. Like a high-spirited horse, which takes to a mad gallop, and furiously leaps over the bounds of the pasture, into which it is turned after a long confinement ; they disdained all restraint. Nothing short of *lawless proceedings*

meetings seemed to them to deserve the name of *liberty*. Because they had shaken off the Antichristian yoke of ecclesiastical tyrants, they concluded, that they had a right to shake off the Christian yoke of civil governors. They payed an unjust tribute to the Pope no more; and therefore, they would pay just taxes to their Sovereigns no longer. In short, they asserted that they had as much right in the legislature as their legislators. They brought on a general election, at which they elected themselves lawgivers; and, as you may easily conceive, one of their first laws was, that goods should be common, thus they began, *facere rem publicam*—to make a *republic*, a *common-wealth*, in the fullest sense of the word. All things were theirs. They were to call no man master upon earth. They were all to be literally kings with Christ, and they anointed themselves to reign with him a thousand years. This scheme could not fail to please the pot-boilers in Germany, who had nothing to lose; and it was highly applauded by those who hoped to get more than they had. They rose therefore in riotous mobs, to proclaim liberty to the captives, and to preach the acceptable year of the Lord. They were to undo all heavy burdens, to break every yoke, to bind kings with chains and nobles with fetters of iron. They actually began their levelling march, headed by some well meaning enthusiasts, and by some designing men, who, like Cromwell, made their way to supreme authority, by striking dreadful blows at all authority. And, under pretence of asserting the *liberty wherewith Christ has made us free*, they committed all the outrages, which can be expected from a lawless populace, who mistake licentiousness for freedom.

This mischief had begun in the church. Some of the German reformers had, at times, spoken so unguardedly of the ceremonial law of Moses, which St. Paul absolutely discards, as to pour contempt upon the moral law of Christ, which the Apostle strongly enforces. Luther himself, in his zeal for salvation without works, had been ready to burn the epistle of St. James, because it speaks honourably of Christ's royal

royal law, by which Christians shall stand or fall when they shall be judged (that is, justified or condemned) according to their works. When warm men had been taught to bid defiance to God's law, as well as to sin and Satan; what wonder was it, if some of them went beyond their teachers, and began to infer, that, as they were made free from the law of God, so they were made free from the law of the land. The transition from ecclesiastical to civil antinomianism, is easy and obvious: for, as he that reverences the law of God, will naturally reverence the commandments of the King; so he that thinks himself free from the law of the Lord, will hardly think himself bound by the statutes of his Sovereign.

This republican, mobbing spirit, after having tossed Germany, began to agitate England. Permit me, Sir, to transcribe some passages from Bishop Burnet's History of the Reformation. They refer to my subject, and will throw much light upon it. "At this time there were many Anabaptists in several parts of England. They were generally Germans, whom the revolutions there had forced to change their seats. Upon Luther's first preaching in Germany, there arose many, who, building on some of his principles, carried things much farther than he did."—Here the historian candidly observes, that, although these men were all called *Anabaptists*, because they agreed to explode the baptism of infants, they were not all of the same temper. Some, says he, "were called the gentle or moderate Anabaptists. But others—denied almost all the principles of the Christian doctrine, and were men of fierce and barbarous tempers. They had broke out into a general revolt over Germany, and raised the war called *The rustic war*; and possessing themselves of Munster, made one of their teachers, John of Leyden, their king, under the title of King of the new Jerusalem."

"There was another sort of people, of whom all the good men in that age made great complaints. Some there were called *gospellers*, or readers of the gospel, who were a scandal to the doctrine they professed, &c.

I do

I do not find any thing objected to them, as to their belief, save only that the doctrine of Predestination, having been generally taught by the Reformers, many of this sect began to make strange inferences from it, reckoning, that since every thing was decreed, and the decrees of God could not be frustrated, therefore men were to leave themselves to be carried by the decrees. This drew some into great impiety of life, &c.—One of the ill effects of the dissoluteness of people's manners broke out violently this summer (1549), occasioned by the inclosing of lands. While the monasteries stood, there were great numbers of people maintained about these houses, &c. But now the number of the people increased much; marriage being universally allowed. They had also more time than formerly, by the abrogation of many holidays, and the putting down of processions and pilgrimages; so that as the numbers increased, they had more time than they knew how to bestow.'

The Historian tells us next, how the Popish priests availed themselves of these favourable circumstances, to raise a dreadful rebellion in Devonshire; and then he goes on thus:—“ When this commotion was grown to a head, the men of Norfolk rose—being led by one *Ket*, a Tanner. These pretended nothing of religion, but only to suppress and destroy the Gentry, and to *raise the Commons*, and to *put new counsellors about the King*. They increased mightily, and became twenty thousand strong, but had no order or discipline, and committed many horrid outrages.—Ket assumed to himself the power of judicature, and under an old oak, called from thence *the oak of the Reformation*, did such justice as might be expected from such a judge, in such a camp.—When the news of this rising came into Yorkshire, the commons there rose also; being further encouraged by a prophecy, that there should be no king nor nobility in England; that the kingdom was to be ruled by four governors, chosen by the commons, who should hold a parliament, in commotion, to begin at the south and north-seas. They, at their first rising,

fire

fired beacons, and so gathered the country, *as if it had been for the defence of the coast*, and meeting with two gentlemen, with two others with them, they, without any provocation, murdered them, and left their naked bodies unburied. At the same time that England was in this commotion, the news came that the French king had sent a great army into the territory of Boulogne ; so that the government was put to most extraordinary straits. There was a fast proclaimed in and about London. Cranmer preached on the fast day at court.—He chiefly lamented the scandal given by many who pretended a zeal for religion, but used that for a cloak to disguise their other vices. He set before them the fresh example of Germany, where people generally loved to hear the gospel, but had not amended their lives upon it ; for which God had now, after many years forbearance, brought them under a severe scourge.' Histor. of the Ref. Book i. part ii. Ed. 2. p. 110—118.

From this quotation it appears, that the wild, republican spirit which animated *Ket* and his army, worked in those days just as licentious patriotism works in ours. *Ket*, the great patriot, would redress grievances. He raised the commons, under pretence of putting new counsellors about the king. He got the mob together *as if it had been for the defence of the coast*, or of public liberty. But his real design was probably to be one of the four governors chosen by the commons, who were to make an end of the king and nobility in England, and to turn the monarchy into a republic. As for modest *John of Leyden*, he got more than the name of *Protector*; for he was actually proclaimed king. This sort of republican patriotism leads therefore to honour, though this honour, like that of the German and English level-lers frequently ends in shame.

The wildness of this high republican spirit having fixed a foul blot on the reformation in Germany; the latter reformers, to throw off the shame, and to obviate the mischief of this delusion, took particular

cular notice of it in their confessions of faith. Tho' you dissent from the church of England, Sir, yet as, it is presumed, you pay a deference to what are called her doctrinal Articles, permit me to transcribe a part of the 38th, which is levelled at the levelling pot-boilers of Germany, and at the dupes of Ket, who had taken upon him to dispose of property under *The Oak of Reformation* in England. "The riches and goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same; as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast."

Calvin himself, though a strong republican, was frightened at the rapid progress of this civil enthusiasm. Hence it is, that when he drew up a confession of faith for the reformed churches of France and Geneva, he bestowed the two last articles of it upon the error which our American brethren and you, Sir, are running headlong into. As you are probably a perfect stranger to these articles, I shall faithfully translate them from my French Common-prayer book.

'ART. XXXIX, We believe that God will have the world to be governed by laws and civil powers, that the lawless inclinations of men may be curbed. And therefore *he* has established kingdoms and republics, and other sorts of government [some hereditary and some otherwise] together with whatsoever belongs to judicature. And *he* will be acknowledged the *author* of government. To this end *he* has put the sword in the hand of rulers to punish, not only the sins which are committed against the commandments of the second table; but also those which are committed against the precepts of the first table. We ought then, not only to bear, for his sake, that rulers should have dominion over us; but it is also our bounden duty to honour them, and to esteem them worthy of all reverence; considering them as God's lieutenants and officers, which *he* has commissioned to execute a lawful and holy commission.'

ART. XL. ' We maintain therefore, that we are bound to obey their laws and statutes, to pay tribute, taxes, and other duties, and to bear the yoke of subjection freely, and with good will; though they should be unbelievers; provided the supreme dominion of God be preserved in its full extent. And therefore, we *detest the men*' [he means republican levellers] ' who reject superiorities, introduce community and confusion of property, and overthrow the order of justice.'

Sir, you are a Calvinist. You follow the French reformer when he teaches the absolute reprobation, and unavoidable damnation, of myriads of poor creatures yet unborn: Oh! forsake him not, when he follows Christ and teaches, that God [not the people] is to be acknowledged the author of power and government, and that we are bound to bear cheerfully for his sake, the yoke of scriptural subjection to our governors. Represent no more this honourable, divine yoke as abject slavery. And, instead of insinuating that the king and parliament are robbers because they lay a moderate tax upon their American subjects; help Mr. W. to undeceive those, whom the uneasy levellers of the day work up to almost as high a degree of republican wildness, as John of Leyden and Ket worked up the German and English mobs two or three hundred years ago. So will you shew yourself a true minister of the Prince of peace, and a wise protestant, who like Cranmer and Calvin, ought equally to level his doctrine at a tyrant and a mob; and to pour like contempt upon the republican vanity of a tanner who assumes the dignity of law-giver under *the Oak of Reformation*, and upon the imperial pride of a monk, who, from St. Peter's humble chair, pompously holds out his foot, to meet the adoration of prostrate princes.

Be intreated, Sir, to rectify your false notions of liberty. The liberty of Christians, and Britons, does not consist in bearing no yoke; but in bearing a yoke made easy by a gracious Saviour and a gracious

cious sovereign. A John of Leyden may promise to make us first lawless, then legislators, and kings ; and, by his delusive promises, he may raise us to—a fool's paradise, if not to—the gallows. But a true deliverer and a good governor says to our restless, [antinomians] spirits, *Come unto me, and I will give you rest. For my yoke is EASY and my BURDEN is LIGHT.* We can have no rest in the church, but under Christ's *easy yoke*; no rest in the state, but under the *easy yoke* of our rightful sovereign. To aim at breaking this yoke, because we have some objection to the minister or the king, is as great a piece of folly, as for the crew of a ship to aim at cutting the rigging and destroying the rudder of the ship in which they sail, because they have a ~~que~~ que against the pilot or the captain. Suppose they should be so unhappily fortunate as to succeed, what will they gain by their success ? Will they be better able to bear the tossings of the next storm ? Will they not be at the mercy of every wave ;—the sport of every blast ;—ready to be dashed against every rock ?

I am so fully convinced of the truth and importance of Calvin's two last articles of religion, that, though I have for years checked his errors, if I had the wings of the lightning, and a voice like thunder, I would, this instant, shoot myself across the Atlantick, and preach his loyal doctrine to our deluded brethren.

A seed of the error of the republican Anabaptists, has remained in England ever since the Reformation ; and the fiery zeal of some Independents, and later Anabaptists was the chief ladder, by which artful Cromwell climbed to the height of supreme power, under pretence of forming a commonwealth. That you may not charge me with misrepresentation, I shall draw my proof from the Rev. Mr. R. Baxter's life, written by himself. His testimony is worth that of twenty other authors, because he had few equals in his time for piety, wisdom, moderation, abundant labours, and ministerial success ; and because he was an eye-witness of many things which

he relates ; having been chaplain to a regiment of horse in Cromwell's army ; a place this, which he accepted chiefly with an intention to oppose by his preaching the headstrong republican spirit of those men, who, after having taken up arms with a design to redress grievances and oppose arbitrary power, bore them with an intention of putting down hierarchy and monarchy together. Baxter failed in his attempt partly through the forbidding coldness, with which Cromwell looked upon him, and partly by a severe fit of sickness, which obliged him to leave the army when his moderation was most wanting there. The following extract is taken from a folio volume printed in London 1696, intitled “*Reliquiae Baxterianæ, or Mr. Baxter's Narrative of the most memorable Passages of his Life and Times.*”

Page 26. Having told us, that what hastened on the war, on the side of the parliament, was (1.) “*The people's indiscretion* that adhered to them : (2.) The imprudence and violence of some members in the house, who went too high, &c.”

He explains what he means by *the people's indiscretion* thus :—“ Some were yet more indiscreet : the remnant of the old Separatists and Anabaptists in London was then very small, and scarce considerable ; but they were enough to stir up the younger sort of religious people to speak too vehemently—against the bishops and the church—and all that was against their minds.—These stirred up the apprentices to join with them in petitions, and to go in great numbers to present them : As they went, they met with some of the bishops in their coaches going to the house, and (as is usual with the passionate and indiscreet, when they are in great companies) they too much forgot civility and cried, *no bishops.*—P. 27. When at last the king forsook the city, these tumults were the principal cause alledged by him, as if he himself had not been safe” [*in the midst of these mobbing petitioners.*] “ Thus rash attempts of headstrong people do work against the good ends which they themselves intend.—*Overdoing*

is the ordinary way of *undoing*. And some members of the house did cherish these disorders ; and because the subjects have liberty to petition, they made use of this liberty in a disorderly way.—Some particular members concurred with the desires of the imprudent reformers, who were for no less than the utter extirpation of the bishops and Liturgy.—Those members, &c. did much encourage the petitioners, who, in a disorderly manner, laboured to effect it."

Page 39. "I make no doubt but the headiness and rashness of the younger unexperienced sort of religious people, made many parliament men and ministers overgo themselves, to keep pace with those hotspurs ; no doubt but much indiscretion appeared, and worse than indiscretion, in the tumultuous petitioners, and much sin was committed in the dishonouring of the king, and provocation of him.—But these things came principally from the sectarian spirit, which blew the coals among foolish apprentices : And as the sectaries increased, so did this insolence increase."

Page 50, 51. "When the court news-book told the world of the swarms of Anabaptists in our armies, we thought it had been a mere lie, because it was not so with us.—But when I came to the army, among Cromwell's soldiers, I found a new face of things, which I never dreamt of : I heard the plotting heads very hot upon that, which intimated their intention to subvert both church and state. Independency and anabaptistry were most prevalent.—A few proud self-conceited, hot-headed sectaries had got into the highest places ; and were Cromwell's chief favourites, and by their very heat and activity bore down the rest, or carried them along with them, and were the soul of the army, though much fewer in number than the rest ; being indeed not one in twenty throughout the army ; their strength being in the generals, &c. I perceived that they took the king for a tyrant, and an enemy, and really intended absolutely to master him, or to ruin him.—They said, what were the lords of England,

but William the Conqueror's colonels ? or the barons, but his majors ? or the knights, but his captains ? *Per fas aut nefas*, by law or without it, they were resolved to take down—all that did withstand their way. They most honoured the Separatists, Anabaptists, and Antinomians ; but Cromwell and his council took on them to join themselves to no party, but to be, for the *liberty* of all."

Page 53. " My life among them (Cromwell's soldiers) was a daily contending against seducers.—I found that many honest men of weak judgments, &c. had been seduced into a disputing vein, and made it too much of their religion to talk for this opinion or for that ; sometimes for state-democracy, and sometimes for church-democracy.—I was almost always, when I had opportunity, disputing with one or another of them ; sometimes for our civil-government, and sometimes for church-government : sometimes for infant-baptism ; and often against antinomianism, and the contrary extreme. But their most frequent and vehement disputes were for liberty of conscience, as they called it ; that is, that—every man might not only *hold*, but *preach* and do, in matters of religion, what he pleased, &c.—Because I perceived that it was a few men that bore the bell, that did all the hurt among them, I acquainted myself with those men, and I found that they were men that had been in London, hatched up among the old Separatists, &c.

Page 56, 57. " I found that if the army had but had ministers enough that would have done but such a little as I did, all their plot might have been broken, and king, parliament, and religion might have been preserved. Therefore I sent abroad to get some more ministers among them, but I could get none. *Saltmarsh* and *Dell* were the two great preachers at the head-quarters.—When any troop or company was to be disposed of—he [Cromwell] was sure to put a sectary in the place ; and when the brunt of the war was over, he looked not so much at their valour as at their opinions : so that by degrees he had headed the greatest part of the army with

with Anabaptists, Antinomians, &c. and all these he tied together by the point of *liberty* of conscience, which was the common interest in which they did unite.—Yet did he not openly profess what opinion he was of himself; but the most that he said for any, was anabaptism and antinomianism, which he usually seemed to own.—He would not dispute (with me) at all, but he would in good discourse very fluently pour out himself in the extolling of *free-grace.*"

Page 58. "I called the ministers again together who had voted me into the army: I told them that the forsaking of the army by old ministers, and the neglect of supplying their places by others, had undone us;—that the active sectaries were the smallest part of the army among the common soldiers, but Cromwell had lately put so many of them into superior command, and their industry was so much greater than others, that they were like to have their will: That whatever obedience they pretended, I doubted not but they would pull down all that stood in their way, in state and church, both king, parliament, and ministers, and set up themselves. I told them that for this little that I have done" [*in opposing the high, republican spirit*] "I have ventured my life.—The wars being now ended, I was confident they would shortly shew their purposes, and set up for themselves."

Page 59, &c. Baxter tells us that, when the royalists were all killed or scattered, and the king himself taken prisoner, Cromwell began to serve the parliament as he had done the king; availing himself of the absolute power he had over the army, by the influence of the hot-headed sectaries whom he had promoted; some of whom were called *Agitators*; and as they now stood in his way to the supreme power, he began to serve them in their turn as he had served the king and the parliament. Take Baxter's own words. "When Cromwell had taught his *Agitators* to govern, and could not easily unteach it them again, there arose a party, who adhered to the prin-

ciples of their *agreement of the people*,” [upon the high republican plan] “ which suited not with his designs : And to make them odious, he denominated them *Levellers*, as if they intended to * level men of all qualities and estates,—At last they rendezvous at Burford to make head against him. But Cromwell had presently his brother Desborough, and some other regiments, ready to surprise them there in their quarters, before they could get their numbers together : So that above 1500 being scattered and taken, and some slain, the Levellers’ war was crushed in the egg.”

Page 64. “ The king being thus taken out of the way, Cromwell takes on him to be for a commonwealth (but all in order to the security of the good people) till he had removed the other impediments which were yet to be removed ; so that the rump” [that is, the rest of the house of commons, whom Cromwell still allowed to sit, after he had turned out the members who displeased him most] “ presently drew up a form of engagement, to be put upon all men, viz. [*I do promise to be true and faithful to the commonwealth, as it is now established without a king, or house of lords.*] So we must take the rump for an established commonwealth, and promise fidelity to them.”

In the following pages, Baxter tells us how Cromwell put down the rump at last, and, page 74, he gives this account of the manner in which he farther laid aside his trusty friends the Anabaptists, who had done him so much service. “ The sectarian

* Query, Did Cromwell absolutely wrong them when he said this ? Is it not probable that some of them leaned to the levelling principles of the headstrong Anabaptists ? Was it not when the Anabaptists were most in favour, that England saw a church without bishops, a parliament without lords, and a king without a head ? And were not these some important steps taken towards levelling anabaptistry ; though Cromwell’s ambition prevented republicans and levellers from proceeding any farther, as Baxter soon observes !

party in his army and elsewhere, he [Cromwell] chiefly trusted to and pleased, till, by the people's submission and quietness, he thought himself well settled; and then he began to undermine them, and by degrees to work them out: And though he had so often spoken for the Anabaptists, now he findeth them so heady, and so much against any settled government, and so set upon the promoting of their way and party, that he does not only begin to blame their unruliness, but also designeth to settle himself in the people's favour by suppressing them. In Ireland they were grown so high, that the soldiers were, many of them rebaptized as the way to preferment; and those that opposed them, they crushed with much uncharitable fiercenes. To suppress these, he sent thither his son Henry Cromwell, who so discountenanced the Anabaptists, as yet to deal civilly by them, repressing their insolencies;—and major general Ludlow, who headed the Anabaptists in Ireland was fain to draw in his head. In England Cromwell connived at his old friend Harrison, while he made himself the head of the Anabaptists and fanatics here, till he saw it would be an acceptable thing to the nation to suppress him, and then he does it easily in a trice, and maketh him contemptible, who but yesterday thought himself not much below him."

From this short account of the reign of the Rump, and the craft of Cromwell, it is evident, that the high, republican spirit, and the injudicious zeal of sectaries, especially of the Anabaptists and the Antinomians, were the chief means, by which that ambitious man ascended the seat of supreme power. And I wish, Sir, that your injudicious, well-meant zeal, may not prove a spur, or a saddle to some ambitious, false patriots, who, under pretence of mounting the great horse *Liberty*, to fight our battles, and deliver us from what you call "abject slavery," will ride over us with as little ceremony as Cromwell did over King Charles, the parliament, and the rump.

Before I take my leave of Baxter, permit me to transcribe what he says concerning the origin of power:

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I accidentally find it in turning over his book for the preceding quotations; and his judgment, which exactly coincides with mine, confirms me, in the sentiments which I have expressed in the beginning of this letter.

Page 41. "For the parliament's cause, the principal writing was, *Observations* written by Mr. Parker, a lawyer: but I remember some principles, which, I think, he misapplied, viz. That the King is *singulis major*, but *universis minor* (superior to every one of his subjects, but inferior to the collective body of all); that he *receiveth his power from the people*, &c. For I doubt not to prove, that his power is so immediately from God, as that there is no recipient between God and him, to convey it to him; only, as the King (by his charter) maketh him a Mayor or Bailiff, whom the corporation chuses; so God (by his law, as an instrument) conveyeth power to that person, or family, whom the people consent to; and their consent is but a *conditio sine qua non*; and not any proof that they are the fountain of power, or that ever the governing power was in them; and therefore, for my part, I am satisfied, that all politics err, who tell us of a *Majestas realis* in the people, as distinct from the *Majestas personalis* in the governors. And though it be true, that *quo ad naturalem bonitatem*, &c. (with respect to natural goodness, &c.) the king is *universis minor* (inferior to the whole body of his subjects)—yet as to *governing power* (which is the thing in question), the king is, as to the people, *universis major*, as well as *singulis*,—(superior to the whole body of his subjects, as well as to every one of them.) For if the parliament have any legislative power, it cannot be as they are the body of the people, &c. but it is as the constitution twisteth them into the government. For, if once legislation (the chief act of government) be denied to be any part of government at all, and affirmed to belong to the people as such, who are no governors, *all government will thereby be overthrown.*"

If Baxter is right here (and I believe you cannot prove him to be wrong), is it not evident, Sir, that when you

you insinuate, every one, who is a *free agent*, or has *a will of his own*, or *boils a pot*, ought to have a place in the legislature, before he can be properly subjected to taxation, and, of consequence, to the laws, you countenance one of the most dangerous principles of the levelling Anabaptists?—a principle *whereby all government may be overthrown* by those, who know how to draw just consequences from false premisses.

To return :

You say, Sir, that your opponent is a slave, because he cheerfully submits to taxation without having a direct representative in parliament. But who is the greatest slave; Mr. Wesley, or the tools of lawless patriotism? Have we not seen these dupes turned by their error, not only into despicable slaves, but into a new species of domestic animals? Have we not seen them worked up to such a pitch of delusion, as to refuse, with leonine fierceness, the easy, honourable yoke of their Sovereign's authority, and to account it an honour to take the place of coach horses, and to draw, with asinine meanness, the chariots of their new triumphators?

What ranks have they regarded, when they have poured themselves along by thousands in our streets? Have they paid any respect to our noblemen? Have they reverenced the King himself? Nay, have they not gloried in their tyrannical contempt of his sceptre and person? Have they not treated him, as a well-bred gentleman would be ashamed to treat his groom? Have they not followed him with scurrilous hissings, when he rode with a pomp becoming the first Legislator in the kingdom? And to add the poignancy of contrast to their serpentine sport, have they not filled the sky with shouts of applause, when they have graced the popular triumphs of his avowed opposers? What press has not groaned under the invectives, which their imperious tribunes have cast upon the legislative power? What periodical paper has not been foiled with the unjust sarcastic blots, which these plebeian dictators have fixed upon the minister who pilots us through the rocks, which they throw in the way of

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our peace and prosperity? Because the parliament would not be carried away by the torrent of their boisterous oratory, has not that venerable body been insulted, hectored, bullied? Have they not attempted to lord it over the King himself? Have they not insisted on his sitting on the throne, that when he appeared in the greatest height of royal dignity, they might appear his superiors, and pour upon his anointed head the indecent floods of their lordly remonstrances? Have they not sharpened their tongues like swords, and their pens like spears, sportively to wound him through the side of his minister? And have not those who have done it with the greatest boldness, been preposterously cried up as the greatest patriots? In short, has not taxing subjects, vindicating the legislative power, protecting our merchants, and making a stand against the impetuous overflowings of popular rage in St. George's fields and in Boston—has not, I say, this commendable holding of the reins of government, been represented as tyranny—felony—robbery—murder?

If these men dare to take such astonishing liberties with their Sovereign, how will they treat their fellow-subjects, how will they handle you and me, should they be suffered to step into the Sovereign's place? If the king, in the midst of his guards, can but just keep them from treading his honour in the dust; what will they not be able to do to us, who refuse to *go with them to the same excess of riot?* How shall we escape, if we fall into the power of their guards—their armies of pot-boilers? Those Tritons, who have turned themselves into * *beasts*, to draw the chariots of their semi-

* The servants of God may sometimes be allowed to make use of strong metaphors. David speaks of the *BEASTS* of the people, who refuse to bring pieces of silver, or to pay taxes to their lawful Sovereign. And St. Paul says, that he *fought with BEASTS at Ephesus*, because he narrowly escaped being torn in pieces by the mob there. If the Reader will see an admirable picture of the *beasts*, with which the Apostle fought, and to which our over-doing patriots endeavour to give the power, I do not refer him so much to Rev. xvii. 13. as to Acts xix. 28, &c. where he will find a masterly description of a mob.

gods, will probably endeavour to turn us into *birds*, to make us adorn the triumphs of their goddesses, *Licentiousness*, and *Antinomian Liberty*; and we shall possibly think ourselves well off, if we come out of their hands stipt of our money, watch, and clothes; and covered with tar, feathers, and infamy.

They have already given us tokens of what we may expect from their lawless patriotism, should it prevail every where as it has done in some places. Not to mention the King's officers, who have escaped with the utmost danger of their life in Boston:—not to dwell upon the case of Mr. Christie, a rich British merchant, whom the provincial congress of Maryland is reported to have fined and banished for ever, for writing a confidential, guarded letter to a friend, which contained nothing improper:—not to mention, I say, these, and the like tyrannical proceedings in America; have not those, who live under the immediate protection of the Sovereign in London, felt the iron sceptre of King mob? Has not that tyrant, who, with his hundred arms, threw our goods into the sea in sight of Boston—has not that many-headed tyrant, I say, destroyed that part of our houses in London, which the missile implements of impotent rage could break in pieces? And, as if it had not been enough to attack and injure us in our ships and * houses; have

* It is not in London and Boston only, that this tyrannical spirit breaks out. It probably makes its appearance in most American cities. Philadelphia is the seat of religious liberty and brotherly love no more. Persecuting tyranny and fierce insolence, openly patrol in the once free and peaceful city. One of my parishioners, who went to settle there, sends his friends word, that the day on which a fast was kept to obtain success upon the arms of the Provincials; his windows were broken by the mob, because his religious principles did not permit him to fast on such an occasion, and because he quietly taught his scholars to read the scriptures. A vociferous mob has no ears, though it has arms and tongues more than enough; or else the pacific sufferer might have made his godly persecutors ashamed of their devotions, by setting his scholars to read,

have they not deprived us of our locomotive liberty? Have they not insolently stopped us in the streets, and on the highway? Have they not taken a temporary possession of our coaches and doors, to mark them with their insulting numbers, and with the names of their principal agents? Have they not wantonly stigmatized our back, and chalked us out for laughing-stocks? Have they not lifted their hands against the peers of the realm? Have they not, without judge or jury, burned one of them in sarcastic effigy? Have they not insulted the prime minister in sight of the senate-house? Have they not mobbed the first magistrate of the city of London in the mansion-house; and almost mobbed the King himself in his own palace? And all this, under pretence of *liberty*! O Sir, if this is the beginning of liberty, how dreadful will be the end! Is not the tyrannical Scylla, upon whom you so eagerly push us, more dreadful than even the Charibdis, from which you fancy we are in so great danger? What unprejudiced citizen would not prefer the light yoke of the present government, to the ponderous yoke of such anarchy? And what undesigning Briton, will not (upon second thoughts) chuse to honour King *George*, rather than to tremble and fall down before King *mob*?

Should you do these observations justice, I hope, Sir, you will see, that, to overdo in *constitutional* doctrines,

read, If. lviii. 4. *Behold, ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness; ye shall not fast as ye do this day, to make your voice to be heard on high.* Is it such a fast that I have chosen? This text might have suited the solemnity; unless the following had been judged still more proper: *Rebuke the company of the spearmen, the multitude of the bulls, with the calves of the people, till every one submit himself with pieces of silver: scatter thou the people that delight in war,* Psal. lxviii. 30. My late parishioner was not the only one, who was injured on that memorable day, among others, a quiet friend who ventured to open his china-shop, is said to have had his goods broken by the new king for that offence, to the amount of many pounds.

is as dangerous to the state as to overdo in *evangelical* doctrines, is perilous to the *church*. If we miss the medium of wisdom and moderation, it little matters whether we miss it, by going out of the way on the right hand, or on the left: it does not signify, which of the two we countenance in the church;—Pharisaism, or Antinomianism: it is indifferent which of the two we set up in the state;—an arbitrary king, or an arbitrary mob. Nay, I repeat it; of the two political extremes, the latter is so much worse than the former, as it is more dreadful to be under the dominion of *millions* of lawless tyrants, whom you may meet every where, and who inflame, skreen, and hide one another; than to be under the dominion of *one* lawless tyrant, who can be but in one place, and who stands so exposed to public view, that he cannot, without folly, hope to conceal his enormities.

But thanks be to divine Providence, and to the wisdom of our ancestors, our constitution (*defective* as you represent it) displays the happy medium between the high, monarchical extreme; and the high, republican extreme. Hence it is, that our liberties are alternately struck at, on the right hand, by lawless kings; and on the left, by lawless mobs. But the balance is wisely kept by the two houses of parliament, whose most important and delicate business is (if I mistake not) to hinder the scale of the king from unconstitutionally outweighing that of the people, as arbitrary monarchs could wish; and to prevent the scale of the people from making that of the king kick the beam; as tyrannical mobs desire. The present king follows the laws, as his royal ancestors have done before him. He takes no capital step without his parliament; and therefore, at present, we are under no danger on his side. But I cannot say this of the people: they are inflamed by designing or enthusiastical republicans: they avowedly break the laws: they glory in doing it: they take up arms against the King and parliament: they commit outrages. Therefore all our danger is, at present, from king *Mob*;

and this danger is so much the greater, as *some* dissenters among us, who were quiet in the late reign, and thought themselves happy under the protection of the toleration-act, grow restless, begin openly to countenance their dissatisfied brethren in America, and make it a point of conscience to foment divisions in the kingdom. Whether they do it merely from a brotherly regard to the Colonists, who chiefly worship God according to the dissenting plan; or whether they hope, that a revolution on the continent, would be naturally productive of a revolution in England; that a revolution in the state here, would draw after it a revolution in the church; and that, if the church of England was once shaken, the dissenting churches among us might raise themselves upon her ruins: whether, I say, there is something of this under the cry of *slavery* and *robbery* that you set up, is a deep question, which you, Sir, and some of your *warm* admirers, can determine far better than I.

It is the custom of most controvertists, to raise a variety of objections against the system of their opponents, whilst they overlook the greatest difficulties which attend their own system. Lest you should think, Sir, that I follow this disingenuous method, I will now answer the grand question which you propose to Mr. Wesley. " If every man who is taxed without his consent is not a slave, wherein consists the difference between slavery and liberty ? "

If you mean by a *slave*, one who is bought with money, as the Negroes are by the Colonists; your question is unwise, for every body knows, that such slaves, having nothing at all, can never be taxed. When they work, their masters receive the wages; when they bear children, they bear them for their masters: their own body is the property of another. Since therefore they have no property, to talk of their being taxed with, or without their consent, is absurd.

But if, by a *slave*, you mean a subject oppressed by a tyrannical Sovereign; I reply, that the difference between such slaves and the subjects of Great

Britain, who have no share in the legislation, is prodigious. A slave (in this sense of the word) is not only taxed as happy subjects are; but he is taxed without proportion, without judgment, and without mercy. The taxes laid on him, are so many and so heavy, that he can hardly bear the burden, supposing he does not quite sink under it.—If he dissent from the established mode of worship, he cannot serve God according to his conscience, without being disturbed and insulted by a profane populace, who are countenanced and encouraged by persecuting magistrates. Nay, it is well, if he is not prosecuted, fined, imprisoned, or put to death.—If he is committed to jail, he can never be bailed out on any occasion.—If he is sent to prison ever so unjustly, he can recover no damages for false imprisonment.—If he is wronged of his property; in a variety of cases, at the peril of his life, he dares not complain.—If he is maliciously robbed of his good name, he cannot recover it by law, together with suitable damages.—If his bed is defiled, he can get no satisfaction for that capital injury.—His house can be forcibly entered into at any time.—He is obliged to work so long for the Sovereign gratis, that he cannot mind his own business.—If he is wantonly struck by a great man, there is no law for him; and the wisest thing which he can do, is to say nothing.—If he is murdered, little or no notice is taken of it: a plebeian assassin can easily make his escape; and nobody dares prosecute a noble murderer.—If he freely speaks his mind, either upon religious subjects, or political affairs, he is summoned before an ecclesiastical or civil inquisitor; and it is well if he escapes with the reprimand, which a chief magistrate in a mild republic gave to a gentleman of my acquaintance, who modestly hinted at a method of redressing an avowed grievance. “ Who has appointed you, Sir, a teacher of your Sovereigns? They know their business. Learn to know your own.”—But what is worst of all, if he is capitally accused, his accusers are per-

haps his judge and jury. He is put in a dungeon, without knowing why :—his witnesses are not suffered to speak for him :—he is kept so long on the rack, that he is perhaps obliged to turn false accuser against himself. He is tried secretly. His fortune, and life, lie possibly at the mercy of two or three judges only. Nay, he may fall a sacrifice to the prejudice, caprice, envy, hatred, or hurry of one single man.—Being tried by his peers, or by twelve of his fellow-citizens, is an invaluable blessing, of which he has not the least idea.

Not so the happy subjects of Great Britain. Whether they have a freehold or not, they all enjoy this advantage ; and, if the law is put in force, they are partakers of all the branches of religious and civil liberty, which are opposed to the above described branches of hard vassalage. And (what is most wonderful) the poor enjoy these blessings as well as the rich: the plebeian shares them with the nobleman. Hence it is, that the subjects of Great Britain are the *freest subjects* of those in any civil government in the world. And hence it appears, that when you assert, there is no difference between having no share in legislation, and being an absolute slave, you display an amazing unacquaintedness with the civil governments of Europe ;—you betray an astonishing want of gratitude to God and the Sovereign, for the religious and civil liberty which we enjoy ;—and you verify the observation of an ingenious foreigner, who has lately written upon the British constitution, and who says, “ The blessings of liberty are so familiar to the English, that they neither relish nor know them. They may, in this respect, be compared to the children of princes, who, being born and educated in a palace, are so accustomed to its elegance and grandeur, and so unacquainted with the the sordidness of cottages and gloominess of dungeons; that they never heighten their happiness, and excite their gratitude, by comparing the blessings they enjoy, with the hardships that others endure.”

Just as this comparison may be with respect to you, Sir, it can however hardly suit the case of many of the Colonists. Some of them, alas! know too well what tyranny and cruel servitude are. When poor, naked, bleeding slaves, ready to expire under the repeated strokes of a cutting whip, are obliged to keep in their groans, and to stifle their sighs, for fear of raising the cruelty of their tyrants to an higher pitch of fierceness:—When this is the case, I say; of all the men upon earth, it least becomes the hard masters—the domestic sovereigns of these poor creatures, to complain of the mild government they are under, and to scream tyranny! slavery! robbery! murder! And why?—Truly, because some of them are enjoined to pay taxes, about thirty times lighter than those which millions of their fellow-subjects, who have no vote, cheerfully pay in England; because the parliament will not suffer them to destroy with impunity the property of our merchants; and because the king will not have the collectors of the public revenue be in continual danger of being murdered among them. O partiality, how high is thy glaring throne; and how many are thy warm votaries in America, and thy sanguine advocates in England!

I shall esteem myself happy, Sir, if this check to licentiousness recommends itself to your conscience as a Protestant, and to your candour as a well-wisher to the cause of *true* liberty. Think not that the plainness, with which I have addressed you, springs from malice or disrespect. Though I have bluntly attacked your errors, I sincerely love and honour you as an enemy to tyranny, and a (mistaken) assertor of British liberty. Therefore whilst I blame your dangerous performance I gladly do justice to your good meaning; and I cordially join you, where you express a loyal ardent wish, that a speedy reconciliation may take place betwixt us and our Colonies, upon an honourable, constitutional basis, and that

that our beloved sovereign may long live to sway the sceptre over a free people ; provided you do not mean by a “ *free people*,” tumultuous mobbing people, making liberty to consist in refusing to pay taxes, and in giving to the scriptural yoke of civil government, the opprobrious name of “ abject slavery.”

Should you accuse me, Sir, as you do Mr. Wesley, of “ inflaming the minds of the people here against our American brethren ;” you will do me as much injustice as you do to my friend. Our only design is to promote a proper obedience to those parts of the gospel of peace, which enjoin us a due subjection to our superiors ; and to enforce the articles of religion, which the last reformers drew up, to keep overdoing protestants from the enthusiasm of wild republicans. Far from being prejudiced against the Colonists, I feel a deep concern for their spiritual and temporal welfare. Yea, such is my partiality to them, and my fear of a greater effusion of the blood of Britons, and sons of Britons, that I even wish the government would make the easy yoke, of which they causelessly complain, easier still ; by granting them some privileges, denied not only to millions of Britons here, but also to the members of parliament, and to the king’s own brothers, who, whilst they are out of England, are all taxed without being consulted. I humbly wish that our legislators would condescend to consult with the Colonists, about the taxes which suit their country and circumstances best. And as British senators know how to pity the prejudices of mankind, especially the prejudices of sons of Britons, with respect to the precious blessing of liberty ; I wish that the king and parliament would extend their greatest mercy to subjects, who have been hurried out of the way of loyalty, chiefly by their inattention to the blessings which they enjoy, and by the delusive hopes, with which, it is to be feared, some of our own countrymen have rashly flattered, and artfully seduced them.

them.—In a word, I ardently wish, that [upon the return of the Colonists to their duty] the government would bind them to their mother-country, both by the silken cords of pardoning love, and by the silver bands of some prerogatives, which may convince them, that Great Britain considers them, not only as subjects, but also as younger brothers.

Such kindness, together with the scourge of a civil war, which they so severely feel already, would probably attach them to the parent state for ever. Should this be the case, how great will be the joy of those, who properly value the blessings of peace and order! And how full the disappointment of the demon of discord, who envies us the singular blessings which we enjoy! Great Britain and America will then become the fixed, and unrivalled seats of truth, arts, sciences, and commerce. They will collect the treasures of the old and new world. They will play into each other's hands the wealth of the universe. And, joined together, they will be more than a match for all their combined enemies. So shall genuine protestantism, sober liberty, uninterrupted peace, and growing prosperity, conspire to crown the richest island, and the finest continent in the world. Happy—for ever happy will they be, if their riches and grandeur do not corrupt and intoxicate them; and if civil and religious frenzy never hinder them more, from paying an humble regard to our Lord's important precept, *Render to Cesar, the things which are Cesar's; and to God, the things which are God's.* That you, Sir, I, and all our fellow-labourers in the gospel, may faithfully practise, and zealously preach this neglected part of the doctrine of Christ;—that our warmest zeal for liberty may always be tempered by a due sense of what we owe to our governors;—and that our warmest loyalty to the king, may always be attended with a proper consciousness of what we owe to God, to our fellow-citizens, and to posterity; are the Christian

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Christian constitutional prayers, which I ardently offer to the King of kings, and in which I invite you to join,

Rev. Sir,

Your affectionate brother,

and obedient Servant,

J. F.

THE END.



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